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Evangelical Missionaries in the Early Nineteenth-Century Highlands

DONALD E. MEEK

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the Scottish Highlands and Islands began to be visited by itinerant missionaries whose methods and ecclesiastical affiliations differed markedly from what had previously been known in the area. The missionaries would usually come uninvited to a district, send round notice of their intention to preach, and preach to whatever audience was willing to listen. Even harvesters in the fields could be addressed by these strangers, whose sermons generally consisted of an exposition of a Bible text with a pointed application to unbelievers and an exhortation to repentance. Almost as mysteriously as they had come, the missionaries would depart to another township or parish. They were not restricted by parish boundaries, or by the requirements of kirk sessions or parish ministers. With what their opponents frequently regarded as an alarming distaste for recognised clerical authority, the missionaries would travel through many parts of the Highlands on preaching tours which might last as long as six months.[1]

It is difficult to find a suitable generic term which covers the spectrum of belief and practice represented by such itinerant missionaries. Their opponents recognised that they were 'dissenters', in the sense that they had usually renounced any formal connection with the Established Church. Some, like the missionaries who were employed by the Relief Church, were the ordained ministers of a body which had seceded from the Church of Scotland many years previously (Struthers 1843: 393-407). The majority, however, were unordained laymen who were sent into the Highlands by societies which had an interest in Highland mission, but as their labours took effect, some of these men would be ordained as the pastors of individual congregations. The first itinerant society to be concerned with Highland mission was the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, founded in 1797 by Robert and James Haldane, who, while still lay members of the Church of Scotland, were promoting extensive preaching tours in the north and east of Scotland (Haldane 1798; *Proceedings* 1799). By 1798, the Haldanes had adopted a position of Congregational independency which was shared by their newly founded Society, but by 1808, they had become Baptists in a damaging dispute which led to the crippling of the Society (Escott 1960: 61-85). The early work of the Haldanes influenced other men who were to adopt Baptist principles before the Haldanes themselves. One of these was Christopher Anderson, who became the pastor of a Baptist congregation in

Edinburgh in 1808, but who had reached a Baptist position in 1801 (Anderson 1854: 10, 80). In 1808 also, with the assistance of George Barclay, a Baptist pastor in Kilwinning, Anderson began to itinerate in the Highlands, with the result that a small society for Highland mission was formed (Anderson 1854: 101). This society, originally nameless, was later known as the Scotch Itinerant Society (Anderson 1854: 127), or the Baptist Itinerant Society (Yuille 1926: 69-71). In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, several other societies were founded along similar lines, but individual churches could sometimes send missionaries into the Highlands. The Haldanes' Tabernacle in Edinburgh evidently supported missionaries in this way after 1808 (Yuille 1926: 72-3).

The itinerant missionaries who operated in the Highlands thus tended to be mainly of Congregational (Independent) or Baptist persuasion, although such bodies as the Relief and Secession Churches were also active. The work of Congregational and Baptist missionaries led to the formation of autonomous churches holding to the missionaries' principles, predominantly in Perthshire and Argyll, and in the Inner Hebrides. By 1805, Congregational churches were more numerous in Perthshire than in Argyll, where Baptist fellowships had begun to emerge (see Appendix B, fig. 1). The Haldanes' adoption of Baptist views in 1808 led to dissension in several of the Congregational churches in Perthshire and elsewhere in the Highlands, so that further Baptist churches were initiated. The Congregational thrust, although weakened after 1808, was maintained largely by individual pastors who formed the core of the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, founded in 1817. The influence of the various missionary societies and their associated churches was probably greatest from 1820 to about 1850 (see Appendix B, fig. 2).

While the most obvious results of the missionaries' activities were the churches which they helped to create, they also stimulated spiritual excitement in several districts. Revivals in Arran, Bute and neighbouring areas (1800-), Breadalbane (1800→), Skye (1805→) and Lewis (about 1823) can be linked, directly or indirectly, with the presence of itinerant missionaries. In Lewis, the awakening of 1823 owes much to the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society's schoolmasters stationed in the island, but, as will be demonstrated, there was a close connection between the Gaelic School Society and the dissenting movement represented by the itinerant evangelists. Indeed, they can both be regarded as part of the same missionary outreach to the Highlands.

Attitudes and Sources

The work of the itinerant missionaries has not yet been examined comprehensively or critically by church historians, although recent studies have drawn attention to their activities in the context of the social dislocation of the time (Hunter 1976: 89-106) and the spread of literacy in the Highlands (Durkacz 1983: 96-153). General accounts of their labours can be found in denominational histories of the Relief

Church and the United Secession Church (Struthers 1843: 393-407; Small 1904), the Baptists (Yuille 1926: 55-60, 66-75), and the Congregationalists (Escott 1960: 61-81). There are also important biographies of the leaders of the Congregational and Baptist dissenting movement in Scotland (Philip 1841; Haldane 1852; Anderson 1854).

One reason for the neglect of the dissenters by church historians lies, it would seem, in the changes which occurred in Highland religious life in the middle of the nineteenth century, represented principally by the Disruption of 1843. On the hither side of the Disruption, it is difficult to appreciate the significance of the missionaries who toured the Highlands and Islands arousing spiritual concern. The emergence of the Free Church, with its own distinguished leaders of lay and clerical evangelicalism (Macleod 1965), has probably helped to erase the memory of the missionaries, who were, for the most part, a non-presbyterian dimension of the evangelical upsurge in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Another reason for the relatively low profile of the missionaries in the writing of Highland church history is probably the element of contentiousness which their appearance introduced to the religious life of their time. For the Established Church, the missionaries' activities were a painful indication of the dissatisfaction with clerical provision which was felt in many districts. This dissatisfaction arose mainly from the role of Moderate ministers (MacLeod 1983), and the missionaries achieved strong followings in areas where there were no Evangelical parish ministers. Contemporary observers were seldom neutral in their appraisal of the itinerants' methods, and the polemical nature of much surviving evidence has coloured subsequent analysis. In particular, the view that the missionaries were adversaries of the Established Church has obscured the areas of common ground and mutual influence which are sometimes detectable, especially in the relations between the missionaries and Evangelical clergy and laymen in the Church of Scotland. The polarisation of viewpoints has also retarded the examination of the origins and aims of the itinerant movement, and its relationship to dissent and itinerancy elsewhere in Britain.

Although historians have made, and will continue to make, extensive use of evidence which is polemical in intent, written by opponents or encouragers of dissent, a major source of valuable information is provided by the writings of the itinerants themselves. These usually take the form of journals compiled by the missionaries on a daily basis, and published by the societies responsible for their maintenance. While the journals may contain a marked element of spiritual autobiography, and are not always free from the prejudices of their writers, they are of great value in assessing the aims of the itinerant preachers, who frequently provide graphic accounts of the methods they employed, and the responses they evoked. An outstanding example of the genre is the surviving set of journals compiled between 1810 and 1815 by Dugald Sinclair of Bellanoch, who was an itinerant preacher with the Scotch Itinerant Society during those years, and who became the pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church in

1815 (Sinclair 1810-15; Yuille 1926: 116-17). Journals of the scale of Sinclair's work require to be analysed in their own right before any full appraisal of the itinerant movement can be made (Meek: forthcoming), but even the smaller journals are of importance. One can only regret that comparatively few specimens have survived. Generally printed as flimsy and insubstantial volumes for issue to the subscribers of missionary societies, they could be destroyed or lost easily. Those that do survive are often difficult to trace amongst the masses of ephemeral literature characteristic of the nineteenth century. Summaries of, and extracts from, itinerants' journals were sometimes included in the Annual Reports of the societies, which thus preserve further useful evidence. It may be that more journals of this kind will be discovered in the future, and that they will serve to enlarge, and even to modify, our understanding of the dissenting movement in Scotland, and particularly in the Highlands. Nevertheless, the number of journals currently known to survive is sufficient to provide detailed information about several localities, and to supply a broad general picture of the itinerants' methods.[2] This picture can be supplemented by the accounts of certain travellers in the Highlands in this period, some of whom were eager to visit those areas which had been affected by religious revival (*Letters* 1818).

Dissenters and the Established Church

It is important to emphasise at the outset of this paper that, before the coming of dissenting itinerant preachers, Highland people had had experiences of religious awakening, and that such experiences often created circumstances conducive to dissent. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several revivals had occurred as the result of consistent preaching by Evangelical ministers in different parishes. These were frequently associated with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which was preceded by much spiritual preparation and accompanied by deep soul-searching (MacInnes 1951: 154-66).[3] The importance of the Lord's Supper in this respect is attested in the nineteenth century: the climax of the Breadalbane revival occurred in 1816 and 1817 at two communion services conducted by the Rev. John MacDonald of Urquhart (*Dòmhnallach na Tòisidheachd*), and attended at Ardeonaig by upwards of eight thousand people. Dissenting itinerant missionaries had been active in Breadalbane since the early nineteenth century, and there was an itinerant minister of the Royal Bounty, the Rev. Robert Findlater, stationed at Ardeonaig since 1810 (*Letters* 1818: 6; MacInnes 1951: 209). In this area, therefore, itinerant preachers of both dissenting and Established bodies were in evidence, and one group seems to have reaped where the other sowed. A similar situation pertained in Argyll at the turn of the century, since soul-concern in the Cowal district had been excited initially by visits to the Gaelic communions in Glasgow and Greenock. Later dissenting missionaries were able to take advantage of the resulting spiritual hunger in parishes such as Kilmodan where there was a Moderate minister, and where the desire for an

Evangelical ministry was not satisfied (Douglas 1799: 121-4). In south Argyll, as in Breadalbane, it is noteworthy that dissent took root firmly from an early stage, following the visits of dissenting missionaries in the closing years of the eighteenth century. It seems likely that the general lack of Evangelical parish ministers in Argyll and Perthshire was a major reason (*Present State* 1827: 8). In the two counties, the doctrine of the dissenters was known as *an creideamh mōr* ('the great faith'), while those who embraced it were evidently called *muinntir a' chreidimh mhōir* ('the people of the great faith') (Douglas 1799: 108; *Present State* 1827: 92).

If communion seasons were of significance in creating circumstances which aided the emergence of dissent in the Highlands, it is also highly likely that the ground was further prepared by the 'little army' of lay catechists, licensed preachers and ordained itinerant ministers who operated within Highland parishes with the support of the Royal Bounty and the S.S.P.C.K. (Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge) (MacInnes 1951: 198-211). The methods of these agents at the very least would have made some of the people familiar with itinerancy. Some would also have experienced field-preaching and the use of houses and barns as places of assembly where other more suitable buildings did not exist. A striking feature of the work of the itinerant dissenters is the readiness with which they were able to find responsive audiences in most parts of the Highlands, and we must suppose that the cause was not always disaffection to the local minister, but quite simply the willingness of the people to listen to any itinerant representative of a religious body. An itinerant dissenter would often talk to individuals about the state of their souls (Sinclair 1810: 11-12). Such conversations must have been paralleled in the earlier (and continuing) practice of examining the people in their knowledge of the catechism. It is noteworthy that the first itinerant agent sent to the Highlands by the Haldanes, Hugh Ross, was appointed as a Gaelic catechist for Dunkeld and its neighbourhood (*Proceedings* 1799: 16).

The itinerant agents of the Established Church attempted to overcome the very real difficulty of bringing a knowledge of the Reformed presbyterian faith to distant quarters of many vast Highland parishes. Itinerancy of this or any other sort was not normally associated with the clergy. There is, however, one conspicuous example of an Evangelical minister who became a roving evangelist of major importance, and whose methods resembled those of the dissenters, with whom he had a very obvious sympathy. This was the Rev. John MacDonald of Urquhart, who had been instrumental in the Breadalbane revival of 1816-17. MacDonald's father, James MacDonald, had been a catechist in Reay, and this may have predisposed his son to make itinerancy a part of his own ministry. Even so, MacDonald's itinerant endeavours took him beyond the bounds of his appointed parish, and he would frequently preach as a matter of course in any parish through which he happened to pass. In 1817, while travelling through the parish of Strathbogie, MacDonald preached in a meeting-house which belonged to dissenters who were active in the

area. The parishes of Strathbogie and Aberlour made representations to the General Assembly with the intention of obtaining MacDonald's censure. On 30 May 1818, the Assembly, which failed to find adequate grounds to censure the minister, passed an obliquely worded motion which declared that 'the performance of divine service, or any part of public worship or service, by members of this Church in meeting-houses of dissenters, is irregular and unconstitutional' and that 'the conduct of any minister of the Church, who exercises his pastoral functions in a vagrant manner, preaching, during his journeys from place to place, in the open air, in other parishes than his own . . . is disorderly and unbecoming the character of a member of this Church'. Several ministers and laymen, however, recorded their dissatisfaction with the motion, and strongly worded pamphlets in support of MacDonald were published (Kennedy 1978: 57-65; Kerr 1819). MacDonald continued to itinerate thereafter, reaching places as far apart as the south of Ireland and St Kilda, and recording his activities in journals (Kennedy 1978: 66-148). MacDonald's ministry was of great significance in the stimulating of evangelical interest, and it is noteworthy that he joined the Free Church in 1843.

The General Assembly motion of 1818, in its hostility to dissenters, recalls the Pastoral Admonition which the Assembly issued in 1799, when dissenting itinerants had first begun to attract attention following the constitution of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home by the Haldane brothers in 1797. The Assembly on this occasion warned against

> a set of men whose proceedings threaten no small disorder in the country. We mean those who, assuming the name of missionaries from what they call the Society for the Propagation (*sic*) of the Gospel at Home, as if they had some special commission from Heaven, are at present going through the land, not confining themselves to particular stations, but acting as universal and itinerant teachers and superintendents of those who are established the teachers of religion by the church, intruding themselves into their parishes without any call, erecting in several places Sunday schools without any countenance from the Presbytery of the bounds, the ministers, or the heritors of the parish, committing in those schools the religious instruction of youth to ignorant persons altogether unfit for so important a charge, who presume not only to catechise but also to expound the Scriptures, or to persons notoriously disaffected to the civil constitution of the country . . . (Ross 1900: 279-80).

Like the motion of 1818, this admonition reflects the influence of the Moderate ascendancy within the Assembly, but throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century there is evidence that there was a certain degree of warmth towards the dissenters within some parts of the Established Church. In 1824, for example, a charge of indolence which was levelled against the Highland clergy by one of the main itinerant societies active in the area was firmly rebuffed by no less a person than the Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod (*Caraid nan Gàidheal*). MacLeod, however, was countered in his turn by a Lay Member of the Established Church, who published (anonymously) a pamphlet entitled *An Account of the Present State of Religion throughout the Highlands of Scotland* in 1827 (*Present State* 1827). The writer of the pamphlet was

not only favourably inclined towards the dissenters, but he had evidently made a general study of the progress of dissent in the Highlands. His work, indeed, constitutes a major source of information about dissenters in this period, since it draws on itinerants' journals which have since perished, as well as on other records.

The anonymous Lay Member who broke a lance with *Caraid nan Gàidheal* appears to have had Baptist sympathies, and he was particularly well informed about the progress of dissent in Skye and Perthshire. In Perthshire, he claimed, dissenters 'may now be considered to be firmly established in almost every corner. Every year they are acquiring additional strength, and they are very likely to acquire more' (*Present State* 1827: 92). The Established Church, nevertheless, had other lay members whose viewpoint reflected that of the Moderates. One such was Dr John MacLachlan of Rahoy (1804–74). As a poet he chose Gaelic verse as the medium to express his thoughts about the itinerants (*triallairean*) and their activities:

Tha triallairean Albainn ri aimhreit an tràths'—
Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
A' siubhal gach dùthcha, 'gan dùsgadh gu fearg—
Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
Fadadh-cruaidh air an gruaidh shuas anns na crannagan,
Sùil chlaon air gach taobh a' glaodhaich gu farumach,
"Mur aontaich sibh leinne, bidh sibh sgrioste gun dàil!"—
Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.

Aig an Athair tha brath air an aidmheil as fheàrr—
Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
Có'n t-aon a tha ceart, no có e a tha ceàrr—
Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.
'Sann their luchd-aidmheil ri chéile,
"Chan eil stéidh ann ad theagasg;
Tha sgriobtur 'sa Bhìobull ag innse gun teagamh
Gur mise tha ceart, agus thusa tha ceàrr"—
Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.

'Se m'athchuing 'sa mhadainn air Athair nan gràs—
Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
E chumail mo chridhe gun smal air gu bràth—
Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
Le seirc is truas, iochd do'n t-sluagh, 's a bhith gun
  uaill spioradail,
Dùilean breòit' a tha fo leòn fheòraich 'nan trioblaid.
Ged theireadh gach fear dhiubh gun robh mi gun ghràs,
Gur beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.

(Mac-Lachain 1869: 25–6)

The itinerants of Scotland are making trouble just now—
but I care little for what they say—
traversing every district, rousing it to anger—
but I care little for what they say—
a dog-tooth rainbow shows on their cheeks up there in the pulpits,
they squint to each side as they shout noisily,
"If you don't agree with us, you'll be damned without delay!"—
but I care little for what they say.

It is the Father who knows which creed is the best—
although I care little for what they say—
which one is right, or which one is wrong—
although I care little for what they say.
Those making profession say to one another,
"There is no basis to your teaching;
there is a scripture in the Bible which tells without doubt
that it is I who am right, and you who are wrong"—
although I care little for what they say.

It is my prayer in the morning to the Father of grace—
although I care little for what they say—
that He will keep my heart unspotted forever—
although I care little for what they say—
with affection and pity, compassion for the people, and no spiritual pride,
that I may ask after sick and sore in their trouble.
Although every one of them should say that I lacked (saving) grace,
I care little for what they say.

Highland Missionary Societies

MacLachlan of Rahoy's poem gives a vivid picture of the earnestness of the dissenting itinerants who had come to the Highlands, and of the reaction which they could provoke in those who did not join the ranks of the movement to which they belonged. We must now consider why they should have come to the Highlands in the first place, and what their aims were.

There can be little doubt that the penetration of the Highlands by the dissenters was stimulated primarily by a powerful interest in foreign mission which became apparent throughout Britain in the last decade of the eighteenth century. This interest is evident in the formation of missionary societies which supported the work of missionaries in foreign fields (Walls 1977), and frequently encouraged the co-operation of churchmen of Evangelical sympathy from different denominations. In 1792, a group of Baptists from the English Midlands formed the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (later known as the Baptist Missionary Society) which sent William Carey to India in the following year (Stanley 1984). Carey's self-sacrifice and untiring devotion generated considerable enthusiasm for his

labours among his supporters in Britain, and contributed to the founding of other missionary organisations such as the London Missionary Society, established in 1795 (Wallis 1977: 550-1). The London Missionary Society acted as a model for the formation of further societies (for example, the Edinburgh Missionary Society of 1796), and Carey's mission to India was given prominence throughout Britain by the Rev. Andrew Fuller, the first secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, who visited Scotland on several occasions (Anderson 1854: 19-21; Reeves 1973: 23-43).

In Scotland itself, the refusal of the Established Church to promote an official Church mission encouraged those in sympathy with foreign mission to take an interest in the inter-denominational or Congregational ventures represented by the London Missionary Society (Drummond and Bulloch 1975: 139-77; Walls 1977: 551). As early as 1796 plans were being promoted for the erection of supporting prayer societies (Pringle 1796). This enthusiasm for foreign mission influenced all the major promoters of dissenting missionary activity in the Highlands. Robert Haldane was moved to plan a missionary expedition to India by his reading of the first number of the periodical accounts of the Baptist mission to India, and he had enrolled as a member of the London Missionary Society by 1796 (Haldane 1852: 95-101). The plan was foiled by the opposition of the East India Company, and it was largely for this reason that the Haldanes turned their attention to home mission in Scotland. Similarly, Christopher Anderson, who had been influenced by Fuller's first visit to Scotland in 1799, wished to join Carey in India, but his poor health forced him to return to Edinburgh after his training in England (Anderson 1854: 19, 32-80). 'I was an accepted missionary,' he later wrote, 'and as I could not go abroad, I must prove myself to be of the same mind at home' (Anderson 1854: 99). In undertaking home mission in the Highlands, the Haldanes and Anderson owed a considerable debt to John Campbell, an Edinburgh ironmonger and tireless itinerant who conducted two exploratory expeditions to South Africa on behalf of the London Missionary Society after he had become pastor of Kingsland Chapel, London, in 1802 (Philip 1841). Like the Haldanes, Campbell had close links with Perthshire through his father who was a native of Killin, and his life was influenced to some small extent by his admiration for the poet and itinerant catechist of Kinloch Rannoch, Dugald Buchanan, who was well remembered by older men (Philip 1841: 40-3). As further evidence of the link between foreign mission and Highland home mission, we may note that the incorrigible promoter of ministerial itinerancy in the Established Church, the Rev. John MacDonald of Urquhart, preached an Anniversary Sermon before the London Missionary Society in 1823. His son, also named John, became a missionary in India (Kennedy 1978: 82, 149-72).

Just as the impetus to send missionaries into the Highlands was influenced by an interest in foreign mission, so also was the practical strategy for training and maintaining Highland missionaries. This depended largely on the erection of bodies such as the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, which was constituted by the

Haldanes at the end of 1797 and began its work early in 1798. A further influence in the founding of these Scottish societies was the example of the numerous dissenting itinerant societies which were to be found in England from the 1770s onwards (Ward 1972: 48-53; Reeves 1973: 106-7; Lovegrove 1979). The creation of the Haldanes' society occurred soon after the founding of the Hampshire Association by the Rev. David Bogue, a friend of the Haldanes, and an assiduous supporter of home and foreign mission (Haldane 1852: 191-2). Further connections between English and Scottish dissenters were formed in the training of certain itinerants, particularly those of Baptist persuasion. Christopher Anderson studied at a dissenting academy in Olney, Buckinghamshire, and subsequently at Bristol Baptist College, where he received practical experience in itinerancy (Anderson 1854: 32-61). Dugald Sinclair, who later became an itinerant in Anderson's Scotch Itinerant Society, was trained at Bradford Academy (now merged in the Northern Baptist College) in 1806-10, as were four other candidates from Lochgilphead in the period 1818-25, when Sinclair was pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church (Northern Education Society Reports 1804-25). Congregational itinerants were usually trained at Haldane classes in Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow, and from 1811 at Glasgow Theological Academy (Escott 1960; 76-8; 90-3).

By 1820, at least five influential societies had been formed by Scottish dissenters to promote home mission with a specific interest in the Highlands. Besides the societies associated with the Haldanes and with Anderson, there was the Baptist Highland Mission (founded in 1816), whose members were based in Perthshire; the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, *i.e.* the Society in Paisley and its Vicinity for Gaelic Missions to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (founded in 1817); and the Highland Missionary Society (founded in Edinburgh in 1819). The Highland Missionary Society, which provided financial backing for missionaries and students enrolled with other societies and churches, was professedly interdenominational; so, too, was the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, but the specifically Congregational and presbyterian sympathies of both societies are evident. In addition to the work of these societies, the secession churches of Scotland had an interest in Highland mission. Indeed, the Relief Church had sent a preacher, Niel Douglas, to the islands of Luing and Seil about 1784 at the instance of Lady Glenorchy who had petitioned the Glasgow presbytery (Douglas 1799: 139-40), and in 1796 it formed a committee for Highland mission which sent Daniel McNaught and Niel Douglas to Kintyre in 1797 (Douglas 1799: 173-4). Although the enthusiasm of the Relief Church had cooled somewhat by 1799 (Douglas 1799: 169-70), the United Secession Church was latterly very active, with the warm support of the Highland Missionary Society (Highland Missionary Society Reports 1820-4).[4]

The number of dissenting bodies which had espoused the spiritual welfare of the Highlander by 1820 guaranteed that most parts of the Highlands and Islands had been visited by evangelical missionaries by 1830, although scarcely with the regularity

that the societies would have wished. In 1824, the secretary of the Baptist Highland Mission appealed for more missionaries to work in the Highlands, and, in so doing, he invoked the parallel between foreign mission and Highland mission which lay at the heart of the dissenters' efforts:

> We have heard the cry of the Otaheitans, the Hindoos, and the Hottentots, 'Come over and help us'; or rather we went uninvited, knowing their need of help, and feeling in some measure our obligation to impart it; and shall the hills and glens of our native land, though actually re-echoing with the cry—'Come—come and help us', be unvisited? (Baptist Highland Mission Report 1822-3).

Methods and Men

Notwithstanding the despondency of the secretary of the Baptist Highland Mission, a great deal had been achieved by the members of his own society and other evangelists by that date. By 1827, there were no less than six Baptist churches in Perthshire (*Present State* 1827: 95), while Lewis and Harris had been visited by missionaries from the Baptist Highland Mission (*Present State* 1827: 75), the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, and the United Secession Church (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 7-8). The Inner Hebrides had been extensively covered, and in Tiree by 1838, the islanders had formed Baptist and Congregational fellowships, and a lone Seceder was seeking to establish a following (*Letter* 1838). In virtually all the areas where dissenting evangelists are known to have been active, there are reports of spiritual awakenings of varying degrees of intensity.

One of the most striking aspects of the time is the enthusiasm of the missionaries themselves. Surviving journals indicate that they were men of outstanding commitment, who were not deterred by poor roads, rough seas, or indifferent health. Summer afforded the best opportunities for their work and the so-called 'long tours' would then take place. In winter, the itinerants tended to operate nearer home, although the pattern is by no means invariable. Much depended on the status of the itinerant, and whether he had other responsibilities such as the care of a congregation, or whether he was a full-time missionary. James Kennedy of Aberfeldy, for example, was pastor of a Congregational church, and itinerated when he was able to obtain the services of a visiting preacher (*Letters* 1818: 13-14). It seems likely, however, that Kennedy had begun as a full-time itinerant, and that he later assumed a pastoral charge; this was certainly the case with Dugald Sinclair of Bellanoch, whose more extensive expeditions to the islands may have been curtailed when he became the pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church, although he evidently continued to itinerate thereafter (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 8). The missionaries would frequently travel in pairs, although they sometimes went alone. Services were held whenever and wherever a suitable audience could be found; only seasonal or communal labour, such as harvesting or kelping, made it generally difficult to

summon the people. The itinerants preached in barns, cottages, and tents, or commonly in the open air. In choosing texts for their sermons, they would often focus on a passage of Scripture which was relevant to the immediate circumstances of their audience.

Itinerants' journals give many descriptions of the content and manner of their preaching. The following account is provided by a visiting preacher who addressed a congregation in Glenlyon in 1817. He himself was a Lowlander, and not a Gaelic speaker, but James Kennedy of Aberfeldy, who normally preached to this congregation, acted as his interpreter:

> After the discourse in English [he writes], Mr K[ennedy] gave the substance of it in Gaelic, chiefly for the sake of the old people who understood little English; for those of middle age, as one of them told me, understood me pretty well. During the whole time, they heard with grave attention; but I could not help observing the difference when Mr K[ennedy] began to speak in Gaelic. Every eye beamed with intelligence and interest; and the very children, who had been comparatively listless before, were all alive the moment they heard the sound of their own dear language of the mountains. I never spoke in a more interesting and melting situation.—The gloomy grandeur of the surrounding mountains—the rich verdure of the vallies—the winding of a copious stream—the numerous patches of corn awaiting the sickle—and the multitude of sheep on the hills, suggested the subject of discourse, which was the last five verses of the 65th psalm, and which I endeavoured to improve by directing the attention of the people to the abundance of spiritual blessings exhibited to sinners by the gospel (*Letters* 1818: 8).

The idyllic autumnal setting of Glenlyon is not wholly representative of the circumstances in which itinerants operated. While their journals often show a lively response to the beauty of nature in its gentler moods, they also describe situations of extreme danger and discomfort. In 1802, John Campbell of Edinburgh narrowly escaped shipwreck when crossing from Arran to Kintyre in a storm:

> . . . the greatest difficulty was when we got within a hundred yards of the shore, which was strewed over with huge rocks, and foaming billows dashing over them. The sailors of course had taken down the sail, after which they paused for some time till a large wave had retired past us, when all immediately exerted their utmost strength at the oars, and the helmsman steered the boat in a serpentine course among rocks before the succeeding wave overtook us.

Undaunted, Campbell preached on landing to a congregation of about four hundred (Haldane 1852: 289). For those missionaries who did not venture to the islands, wind and rain were no less disconcerting, as John McEwen of the Baptist Highland Mission graphically records in his journal for 1822, when he and William Hutchison tramped northwards from Kingussie:

> The rain was pouring heavy upon us crossing the hill, and the wind blowing hard on our sides . . . so by the time we arrived, we were wet to the skin, and the first house into which

we entered, they had neither peats nor sticks, nor any material to make a fire thereof, except wet heather which would not burn, but filled the house with smoke; stayed here for a few minutes, then went against the rain and the wind to the place of meeting; there got for our accommodation an old broken and torn barn, which was little better than the open fields; during the sermon, we could not keep ourselves from trembling, particularly the one who was sitting, and there was no Inn where we might be accommodated; the rough weather was much against us, and against gathering, for the rivers and rivulets were so extremely high, that there is no way to get across (Baptist Highland Mission Report 1822-3: 7).

Inclement weather was not the only form of hardship which the itinerants had to face. When such preachers entered certain districts for the first time, there was often some degree of hostility from the local minister, if he happened to be a Moderate, or from the landlord who held the right of presentation to the parish church. The missionaries' converts and sympathisers were also liable to be treated harshly. Stiff opposition of this kind is evident in the early days of the dissenting movement in Argyll, for example. Niel Douglas, who was sent to Luing and Seil by the Relief Church about 1784, and subsequently to Kintyre in 1797, records numerous instances of the hostility of Moderate ministers, and as a minister of the Relief Church, he has much to say about the evils of patronage. On the other hand, he does note the interest shown by sympathetic lairds in such areas as Cowal (Douglas 1799: 117). James Haldane and John Campbell were apprehended at Whitehouse in Kintyre when itinerating there in 1800, but they were released by the Sheriff at Lochgilphead under the Toleration Act, and resumed their preaching activities (Haldane 1852: 283-7). Dugald Sinclair was opposed by the laird of Coll when preaching in the island, but he and the laird subsequently became good friends (McNeill 1914: 10-11). Further examples of initial opposition can be given almost at random, and there is at least one instance of the imprisonment of an itinerant, which occurred when John Farquharson was preaching in Braemar in 1802 (Haldane 1852: 316-17). Farquharson, who was responsible for an awakening in Breadalbane in this period, was later active in Skye (MacCowan 1902: 2-3).

Colonel David Stewart of Garth claims that dissenting preachers were prone to 'intermix their spiritual instructions with reflections on the incapacity and negligence of the clergymen of the Established Church, and on the conduct of landlords, whom they compare to the taskmasters of Egypt' (Stewart 1885: 165). It is highly probable that this could happen, but it needs also to be said that the majority of itinerants sought to avoid direct and unnecessary confrontation with those in spiritual or secular authority. Sometimes their preaching could be misinterpreted, or applied more pointedly than they would have wished, particularly if they were developing typological or apocalyptic themes. An interest in typology and the apocalyptic, which frequently sought to construct parallels between the contemporary situation and that foreshadowed in the Book of Revelation or pertaining to the days of the minor prophets of the Old Testament, becomes increasingly evident in dissenting circles as the nineteenth century progresses. In 1817, Niel Douglas appeared before the High

Court in Edinburgh on a charge of sedition arising from his application of a passage in the Book of Daniel while preaching in Glasgow (Douglas 1817). By 1831, when he departed for Canada with seventy members of his congregation, Dugald Sinclair of Lochgilphead had come to embrace strongly apocalyptic views (Yuille 1926: 117). In an age when many people in the Highlands must have longed for a new heaven and a new earth, free from the turmoils which they were experiencing as the old social order collapsed, the preaching of the dissenters offered powerful glimpses of divine possibilities, to be realised in this world or the next.

Language and Literacy

When individuals experienced evangelical conversion under the preaching or influence of the Highland missionaries, they would often become literate in order to read the Bible. In 1818, it was reported that a particularly quarrelsome man known as 'the lion of Glenlyon' had become 'as quiet as a lamb', and that he had been seen 'driving along in his peat cart reading his Bible' (*Letters* 1818: 9). When he visited Kintyre in June 1810 and was leaving the vicinity of Clachan, Dugald Sinclair met a former associate. 'About four years back,' writes Sinclair, 'he did not know a letter of the alphabet, but now has the pleasure, not to say the profit, of being able to read the New Testament with facility, though he is past fifty' (Sinclair 1810:8). In both instances, we can assume that the men were reading the Scriptures in Scottish Gaelic.

The missionaries were well aware that literacy need not always be dependent on, or follow as a result of, conversion. They were quick to appreciate that the ability to read appropriate literature could be a means of spiritual awakening, especially if that literature were in the mother tongue. In 1796, when the Relief Church drew up its 'Plan and Instructions' for Highland missionaries, it was resolved 'That, as soon as the funds admit, a number of proper books in the Gaelic language shall be purchased, and distributed *gratis* by the Missionaries' (Douglas 1799: 174). The Relief Church may have been encouraged to see a link between the availability of such books and spiritual awakening by the earlier experience of Niel Douglas when he visited Luing and Seil about 1784. There Douglas found that soul-concern had been aroused by the translating into Gaelic of Joseph Alleine's *Alarm to the Unconverted* by the assistant minister of the parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan, the Rev. John Smith, at the request of Lady Glenorchy. Smith was accustomed to reading his translation from the pulpit as he proceeded, and when the book was published in 1781 (MacLean 1915: 2), every family in the parish acquired a copy. According to Douglas, the translation was condemned by Moderate ministers after Smith had left the parish (Douglas 1799: 144-6). There is no evidence that the people's acquisition of copies of the book led to their becoming literate, but it is not inconceivable that, if they were familiar with the text through public reading, some at least may have tried to read it for themselves. At any rate, the general connection between the availability of sacred literature in Gaelic

and the creation of spiritual excitement was obvious. It is significant, also, that the awakening in Kilbrandon and Kilchattan led to dissent, some of it extreme, after Smith had moved to Campbeltown (Douglas 1799: 140-1).

In 1801, the translation of a book which overshadowed all others was at last completed. This was, of course, the Bible, which now became available in Scottish Gaelic. There can be little doubt that the publication of the entire Gaelic Bible provided a major stimulus for the emergent missionary movement. As is well known, it led to the formation of the Gaelic School Society in Edinburgh in 1810. The principles and influence of this society, which taught the reading of the Gaelic Bible in its schools throughout the Highlands, have been the subject of several recent studies (Harding 1979; MacLeòid 1981; Durkacz 1983: 96-153; Withers 1984: 116-60). Here it suffices to observe the relationship of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society to the dissenting itinerant movement, with which it was very closely associated, both in its foundation and its operation. While it is true that the ultimate model for the circulating schools of the Society lay in Wales, and that several individuals appear to have conceived simultaneously of the appropriateness of such a method of teaching in the Highland context (Durkacz 1983: 111-12), the initiative in founding the Society undoubtedly lay with the Edinburgh Baptist pastor, Christopher Anderson.[5] In June 1810, Anderson's Scotch Itinerant Society enlisted Dugald Sinclair as a full-time itinerant, and he was immediately dispatched on a long tour of the West Highland mainland which took him as far as Wester Ross, before proceeding southwards *via* Inverness. At Beauly, Sinclair *rendezvous*-ed with Christopher Anderson who had come up by the east coast, and who later travelled homewards through Perthshire. Sinclair's comments in the course of his first—and longest—tour indicate that he was eager to discover the extent of, and desire for, education in the Highlands. He discovered an 'indifference' which, he wrote, 'is never likely to be removed, unless by means of diffusing the knowledge of letters among them . . . If they were taught in their *mother tongue*, they would soon find the pleasure of reading, and they are likely to learn very easily' (Sinclair 1810: 16-17). Anderson's expedition similarly reinforced in his mind the need for Highlanders to be taught to read their own language, and this, together with his strong interest in Bible distribution, provided a major impetus towards the formation of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society in November 1810 (Anderson 1854: 105-16; 125-7). Thereafter, a considerable proportion of Anderson's time and energy was spent in administering the Gaelic schools, and in tramping through the Highlands to vet or discipline schoolmasters in his capacity as principal Secretary to the Society (Anderson 1854: 128-34).

The Committee of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society represented a wide spectrum of Evangelicalism which crossed denominational boundaries, and included representatives of the Established Church (Edinburgh Gaelic School Society Report 1811). This helped to ensure its acceptability within the Highlands, as did its

restrictions on the expository role of its teachers. Within the dissenting missionary movement, the work of the Gaelic School Society provided an important focal point, and it gave some degree of cohesion to the several missionary societies, each with its own minor doctrinal distinctions. The Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, for example, greatly aided the Gaelic School Society by distributing Gaelic Bibles at reduced prices, or entirely free, in areas like Lewis, Gigha and Kintyre (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 12; Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society Report 1827: 5-6, 8-9). The missionary societies were also able to build on the religious enthusiasm generated by the schoolmasters, as happened in Lewis in 1823: 'One of the Schoolmasters in the Lewis, while teaching the old and the young to read the Scriptures in Gaelic, offered some explanatory observations. Attention was excited . . . Two of the Itinerants of the Society in Paisley . . . visited the Lewis last summer. Many of the inhabitants flocked to hear the word of salvation, and appeared to hunger and thirst after righteousness. The Bible is the companion of the old and young—in the house, in the field, by the way' (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 11-12). Itinerants were, in addition, well placed to monitor the progress and effect of the Gaelic schools (Sinclair 1814: 12; *Letters* 1818: 24), and some, such as Alexander Grant and Duncan MacDougall, had begun their missionary careers as Gaelic schoolmasters (see Appendix A).

The development of literacy in the Highlands was supported not only by the distribution of Bibles, but by the availability of Gaelic tracts. Tracts were, of course, more easily portable, and supplies were carried by itinerants and sympathetic travellers. In 1798, the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home published translations into Gaelic of four English tracts, *The Friendly Advice*, *Address from a Stranger*, *Plain Truths* and *Address to Children*, each with a print-run of 5,000 copies, to be given out free of charge (*Proceedings* 1799: 60). At the same time, the Society produced 5,000 copies of the General Assembly's *Shorter Catechism* in Gaelic, since knowledge of the catechism was initially one of its priorities (*Proceedings* 1799: 16). It is difficult to know to what extent such literature would have been read in the period preceding the foundation of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society, but there is some evidence to suggest that the Gaelic school movement soon began to create an appetite for pamphlets of this kind which supplemented the Scriptures. When in Tobermory, Mull, in 1812, Dugald Sinclair and a fellow itinerant, Alexander MacKay, were approached by two 'gentlemen' who wanted Gaelic tracts, and who complained of the lack of such material to encourage deeper reading of the Bible. 'Having only a duplicate of four Gaelic tracts,' writes Sinclair, 'viz. The Great Question Answered; A Friendly Advice; Poor Joseph; and Select Portions of Sacred Scriptures; I presented the gentlemen with one of each kind, which they kindly received. They seemed particularly delighted to find we had been dispensing what they thought so valuable, and wished so much for the people's benefit' (Sinclair 1812: 30-1). Again, when visiting Tobermory in 1814, Sinclair found an enthusiasm

for Gaelic tracts among a group of people 'employed in cutting and peeling wood by the road-side'. Several of the group could read, but even those who were unable to read wished to have copies. Sinclair notes that 'in this company of hard labourers, some were from the extremities of Mull; some from Bunaw, Mederloch, Morven &c', and he writes, 'On this occasion, as often before, I was convinced of the propriety, and even necessity, of having a large proportion of tracts in Gaelic, if good is to be expected by distributing tracts in the Highlands. Often have I also desired to have a little leisure for the work of translation' (Sinclair 1814: 7-8). Sinclair, on the same tour, left further tracts with the S.S.P.C.K. schoolmaster in Coll, Ebenezer Davidson, so that a Circulating Library of tracts could be formed in the island (Sinclair 1814: 16).

Dugald Sinclair's desire to translate religious works into Gaelic is indicative of the literary talent which the missionaries frequently possessed. Generally literate in both Gaelic and English, they were well equipped to engage in translation and in original composition when their busy itineraries allowed. Malcolm McLaurin, one of the most active members of the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, translated three English works into Gaelic (McLaurin 1817; 1822b; 1825), and composed some Gaelic verse (1822a). Archibald Farquharson, the Congregational pastor of Tiree, published several collections of his own hymns (Farquharson 1866; 1868; 1870), some original doctrinal writing (1843), pamphlets promoting the Gaelic language and its use in schools (1868; 1877), and polemical pieces (1875). The composition of Gaelic hymns by the missionaries (and their converts) was common. Baptist composers whose hymns were published include Duncan MacDougall of Tiree (MacDougall 1841; 1853), Daniel Grant of Tullymet (Grant 1842), and pre-eminently Peter Grant of Strathspey (Grant 1815; 1926). The hymns of Peter Grant achieved a remarkable popularity in his own time and later, passing through twenty editions between 1815 and 1912 (Ferguson and Matheson 1984: 74-5), and retaining their interest to the present day.

General Conclusions

There can be no doubt that the religious movement spear-headed by dissenting itinerant preachers in the Highlands was stimulated by foreign missionary interest in England and in the Lowlands. Yet we need to resist the view that it was a wholly new intrusion into the religious life of the area, and that it was mainly a matter of conflict between Evangelical dissenters and the Established Church. The picture is more complex. Not only was there sympathy for the dissenters within certain parts of the Established Church, but the dissenters were developing patterns of evangelism which were already known in the Highlands, principally through the work of the Royal Bounty agents and the S.S.P.C.K. Indeed, the new missionary societies were fully informed about the S.S.P.C.K., and admired its general aims. The example of the S.S.P.C.K., and the statistics produced by it, were often in the minds of the societies and their missionaries (*Proceedings* 1799: 5; Sinclair 1810: 15-16; Paisley Gaelic

Missionary Society Report 1820: 12; Edinburgh Gaelic School Society Report for January 1811: 3). We may, in fact, conclude that the dissenting missionaries saw themselves as continuing the programme initiated by the S.S.P.C.K. It is possible that they benefited from the previous work of the S.S.P.C.K., and it may be significant that the distribution of Baptist and Congregational churches in the Highlands is comparable with that of earlier S.S.P.C.K. schools (see Appendix B, fig. 2; Withers 1984: 129-32).

There were, however, some major differences of method and emphasis between the S.S.P.C.K. and the dissenting movement. Dissenting itinerancy, by not being restricted to parish boundaries, was a more flexible force for the evangelism of the Highlands, since it allowed maximum use to be made of a sizeable number of men who could travel the length and breadth of the land. It was this apparent lack of restriction on the missionaries' activities which provoked the greatest alarm in the General Assembly in 1799 and again in 1818. In addition, the dissenters were prepared to countenance the use of Gaelic, and the teaching of Gaelic reading, to a far greater extent than the S.S.P.C.K., at least in the earlier period of its campaign. This is evident in the policy of the Gaelic school movement, with its strong links with dissent, although it needs to be noted that the S.S.P.C.K. was responsible for the translation of the key text, the Gaelic Bible. In their attitude to the vernacular language, the promoters of the Gaelic schools, and particularly Christopher Anderson, may have been influenced by the approach to indigenous languages and culture which was characteristic of William Carey's mission to India. Carey embarked on an ambitious programme of Bible translation involving the major Indian languages, and he and his companions studied Hindu literature (Stanley 1984: 81-2). Like Carey, Anderson appreciated the importance of the mother tongue in evangelising a people, and it is in this context that we should see his commitment to Gaelic, and the work of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society. In creating a body of Highlanders who could at least read their own language, the Gaelic schools also produced a strong desire for literature in English (*Letters* 1818: 24), a result which was anticipated from the beginning of the Society (Edinburgh Gaelic School Society First Report 1811: 32). In this way, the dissenting movement and the Gaelic School Society helped to fulfil some of the initial aims of the S.S.P.C.K.

Like the S.S.P.C.K., the dissenting missionaries tried to achieve the conversion of the Gaelic people to evangelical protestantism. The dissenters, however, made markedly less use of catechisms, perhaps because such writings were linked firmly with the Established Church. The Haldanes' interest in catechising comes, significantly, at the beginning of their career. Instead, the dissenters laid greater emphasis on preaching, and particularly on the evidence of personal faith in individual lives. Dr John MacLachlan, in the poem quoted earlier in this paper, highlights the dissenters' interest in *gràs*, the Gaelic for 'grace' in the sense of 'saving grace', and their appeal to the Bible as the sole ground of their arguments. These

characteristics are very clear in the surviving journals of itinerants. In presenting evangelical commitment as a personal knowledge of the faith, rather than an adherence to doctrinal statements, the dissenters promoted a type of evangelicalism which involved the emotions as well as the intellect. This often produced a strong element of secular renunciation, as Colonel David Stewart observed in Perthshire (Stewart 1885: 163-4).

Perhaps the greatest single difference between the S.S.P.C.K. and the dissenting movement lay in the fact that the new missionaries were separatists, who were able to promote their ideas through schoolmasters and itinerants. The challenge which they presented to heritors and Moderate ministers, and their insistence on personal salvation, foreshadowed and doubtless accelerated the events of 1843.

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My greatest debt, however, is to my own family, and particularly to the life and work of my father, Hector MacDonald Meek, formerly Baptist pastor of Colonsay, Port Ellen (Islay), and Tiree. As he was not spared to see the completion of this paper, I dedicate it to his memory.

NOTES

1 The timing of the itinerants' appearance in the Highlands is probably significant in terms of the earlier activity of the Established Church from *c.*1690. In the eighteenth century, the Church of Scotland had been mainly concerned to overcome the hostility to presbyterianism which was evident in the Highlands, and it fought hard to convert people either from Episcopacy or from Catholicism. The task had been largely accomplished by the 1790s, and this left room for dissent to emerge and take root. On the role of the Established Church, see Ferguson 1969.

2 In addition to Sinclair's journals, the following sources (listed at the end of this article) are of key importance for the Gaelic-speaking Highlands: Douglas 1799; *Proceedings* 1799; Campbell 1805; and the Annual Reports of the Baptist Highland Mission, the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland, the Highland Missionary Society, and the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society. Excerpts from

the journals of John Campbell, James Haldane, and Christopher Anderson are contained in Philip 1841, Haldane 1852, and Anderson 1854.

3 Revivals associated with communion services were stock features of eighteenth-century Scottish presbyterianism generally. The famous revival at Cambuslang in Lanarkshire in 1742 was closely linked with fervent evangelical preaching at two communions (Fawcett 1971: 113–23; Drummond and Bulloch 1973: 53–6). These revivals were becoming common in the Highlands *c.*1800, when they were beginning to lose appeal in the Lowlands.

4 The missionary activity of the Relief Church in Argyll in 1784, and especially in 1797, was doubtless of significance in making the area initially responsive to dissenting preachers. The Relief Church, which had congregations at Campbeltown and Southend, conducted two more missions to Kintyre in 1798 and 1799. The curtailment of its missionary activity after 1799 was caused essentially by a lack of Gaelic-speaking missionaries; only G. Buchanan, N. Douglas, J. McDermid, and D. McNaught are on record. Further negative factors were an awareness of the hostility of the Established Church to itinerancy, and, allegedly, the political radicalism of N. Douglas (Douglas 1799: 169–70; Struthers 1843: 399–400). The effect of Douglas's radicalism has probably been exaggerated, but he was nevertheless a figure of considerable political importance (see Appendix A), and his later career was likely to have been an embarrassment to the Relief Church. The interest of the Relief Church in Highland missions continued tenuously in the person of J. McDermid, who became a secretary of the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society.

The first minister of the United Secession Church to undertake regular itinerant preaching in the Highlands was evidently Samuel McNab of the Antiburgher church in Rothesay, who operated initially through the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society (see Appendix A). The United Secession Church had strong followings in Argyll, especially in the Lochgilphead area, and around the Moray Firth (see the entries for USC ministers in Appendix A). It aimed at employing fully trained missionaries, and eschewed the use of 'a secondary class of Itinerants' (Highland Missionary Society Report 1822: 9).

5 I know of no firm evidence to support the contention (MacLeod 1976: 129; Harding 1983: 16) that Dr Charles Stuart of Dunearn was the founder of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society, although he did serve on the Committee of the Society.

APPENDIX A

This Appendix provides a provisional check-list of evangelical missionaries known to have been active, or likely to have been active, in the Highlands (including the Islands) from *c.*1790 to *c.*1850. It excludes parish missionaries of the Established Church, the S.S.P.C.K., and the Royal Bounty. Missionaries of the following persuasions and denominations are included, and distinguished by the appropriate abbreviations:

B	Baptist
C	Congregational
R	Relief Church
USC	United Secession Church (and its earlier components)

Specific reference is made to allegiances to missionary bodies, which can be identified as follows:

B.H.M. Baptist Highland Mission
B.H.M.S. Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland (formed essentially by the merging of B.H.M., S.I.S., and Haldane interests after 1823)
E.G.S.S. Edinburgh Gaelic School Society
H.M.S. Highland Missionary Society
P.G.M.S. Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society (_i.e._ the Society in Paisley and its Vicinity for Gaelic Missions to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland)
S.I.S. Scotch Itinerant Society
S.P.G.H. Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home

When an allegiance to a missionary society is probable but unconfirmed by available evidence, the initials of the society are placed in square brackets [ ].

As far as the available evidence allows, the list provides brief biographical details about each missionary, including offices held (whether pastor (p.) of a church holding to congregational order, or minister (m.) of a church following presbyterian order), and years of birth (b.) and death (d.). The areas covered by the missionaries in their itineraries are also noted where known. Sources of information are given at the end of each entry. It is anticipated that the list will be extended and modified as further information comes to light.

*_Anderson, Christopher_ B; b. Edinburgh (1782-1852); p. Richmond Court (now Charlotte Baptist Chapel), Edinburgh 1808-51; founder with G. Barclay (_q.v._) of S.I.S. 1808; principal founding member of E.G.S.S. 1810; attended constitution of Bellanoch B Church 1805; active in Highlands 1808 onwards (Anderson 1854; Yuille 1926: 69-71; Whyte n.d.: 1-25; Durkacz 1983: 103, 111-12).

Anderson, John C > B; p. Tullymet C church -1808; p. Tullymet B church 1808-22; B.H.M.; d. 1822 (B.H.M. Report 1822-3; Yuille 1926: 168).

*_Barclay, George_ C > B; b. Kilwinning; p. Kilwinning B church (later at Irvine) 1803-38; itinerated with C. Anderson (_q.v._); d. 1838 (Anderson 1854: 101-2, 106; Yuille 1926: 207-8).

Blue, Malcolm B; b. Colonsay; p. Colonsay B church _c._1815-58; d. 1858 (McNeill 1914: 15-17, 20-1; Yuille 1926: 115-16).

Buchanan, George R; b. Perthshire; active in Kintyre with J. McDermid (_q.v._) and D. McNaught (_q.v._) 1798; m. at Strathkinness 1800-8 and Kirkcaldy; emigr. Beckwith, Upper Canada 1822; d. 1835 (H.M.S. Report 1822: 7; Struthers 1843: 400; Small 1904: I.205).

Cameron, Archibald B; p. Killin B church 1808- (Yuille 1926: 284).

Cameron, Duncan B; schoolmaster at Lawers 1826-37; p. Lawers B church 1837-57; [B.H.M.S.]; active in Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Rannoch; emigr. Canada 1857; d. 1867, aged 67 (Yuille 1926: 268).

* An asterisk preceding names denotes non-Gaelic-speaking itinerants who usually made use of interpreters when their audiences had little familiarity with English.

Cameron, John B; p. Fortingall B church 1845- (Yuille 1926: 280).

Campbell, James B; assoc. with Grantown-on-Spey B church; active in Skye 1828 (B.H.M.S. Report 1828).

Campbell, John USC; b. Lochgilphead; m. Jamaica St, Glasgow; active in mainland Argyll 1821, 1822; d. 1828, aged 59 (H.M.S. Report 1821: 12; H.M.S. Report 1822: 9; Small 1904: II. 61-2).

•*Campbell, John* C; b. Edinburgh (1766-1840); father from Killin; ironmonger and city-missionary, Edinburgh; p. Kingsland Chapel, London 1802-40; encourager of Haldanes, esp. J.A. Haldane (*q.v.*) whom he accompanied on several Highland tours; visited S. Africa 1812, 1818 (Campbell 1805; Philip 1841; Haldane 1852: 122-8; Drummond and Bulloch 1975: 157-60).

Campbell, John C; [S.P.G.H.]; active in Breadalbane before 1811; p. Oban C church 1811-53; P.G.M.S.; active in Oban area and adjacent islands (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Escott 1960: 324-5, 368).

Dewar, Alexander C; [S.P.G.H.]; active in Breadalbane before 1808; p. Avoch C church 1808-49; P.G.M.S.; active in Inverness-shire, Ross and Sutherland; d. 1849 (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12-13; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Escott 1960: 263-4, 282-3, 341).

Dewar, James C; [S.P.G.H.]; brother of A. Dewar (*q.v.*); active in Perthshire and Argyll before 1804; p. Nairn C church 1806-43; P.G.M.S.; active from Lochaber to Cape Wrath, including Mull and Skye (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12-13; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Escott 1960: 262-3, 282).

Douglas, Niel R; b. Glendaruel (*c.*1750-1823); licensed 1783; m. Cupar 1785-92, Dundee 1793-8; active in Luing and Seil *c.*1784, and in Kintyre, the Lochgilphead area, and Cowal with D. McNaught (*q.v.*) 1797; left Relief body *c.*1800, becoming Universalist preacher in Greenock and Glasgow; political activist and pamphleteer (Douglas 1799; Douglas 1817; Struthers 1843: 396-400, 572-3; Small 1904: II. 181-2, 296-7; Short 1963: 58-64).

Farquharson, Archibald C; b. Perthshire; entered C Hall 1829; p. Tiree C church 1835-78; d. 1878 (Ross 1900: 239, 257; Escott 1960: 325, 373).

Farquharson, John C; S.P.G.H.; key figure in Breadalbane and Loch Tay-side revival *c.*1800-4; founder of C churches at Killin 1801, and Acharn; p. Acharn C church 1802-4; active in Skye *c.*1805; emigr. Canada 1806 or 1807 (Haldane 1852: 316-17; *Letters* 1818: 11; *Present State* 1827: 59; 59; MacCowan 1902: 2-3; Escott 1960: 282, 339).

Ferguson, Angus B; b. Ross of Mull; p. Uig B church 1836-42; d. 1842 (Yuille 1926: 114, 119, 289).

Ferguson, Duncan B; b. Ross of Mull; p. Bunessan B church 1835-63, with D. McIntyre (*q.v.*) and C. McQuarie (*q.v.*); B.H.M.S.; d. 1882 (McNeill 1914: 7-8; Yuille 1926: 113).

Ferguson, John C; active in Breadalbane at same time as J. Farquharson (*q.v.*) (Escott 1960: 282).

Fisher, Peter C > B; [S.P.G.H.]; at Aberfeldy 1805; B by 1808; B.H.M.; based at Ardeonaig by 1822; active in Perthshire, Skye, and other islands (Campbell 1805: 19; H.M.S. Report 1820: 16; B.H.M. Report 1822-3; Yuille 1926: 71-113).

•*Fraser, Donald* USC; m. of Associate Synod at Kennoway; active in 1820 with A. Kennedy (*q.v.*) in Deeside, Braemar, Glenlyon, and Moray Firth area (H.M.S. Report 1820: 13-18).

Fraser, William B; p. Uig B church 1820-30; emigr. Breadalbane, Glengarry Co., Ontario 1830 (Yuille 1926: 114, 268-9, 289; Ivison and Rosser 1963: 95).

Grant, Alexander B; b. Kingussie; E.G.S.S. teacher based Kilninian par., Mull 1816; allegedly dismissed from Scarba; became missionary; influential in founding of Tobermory B church; active in Inner Hebrides; d. 1874, aged 90 (E.G.S.S. Report 1816: 36; Yuille 1926: 113, 118-20, 269).

Grant, Daniel B; p. Tullymet B church 1839-84; [B.H.M.S.] (Yuille 1926: 168, 289).

Grant, Peter B; b. Strathspey (1783-1867); p. Grantown-on-Spey B church 1826-67; B.H.M.S.; active in 1828 with W. Hutchison (*q.v.*) on tour extending from Loch Ness to Moray Firth (B.H.M.S. Report 1828; Grant 1926; Yuille 1926: 95-6, 283).

•*Haldane, James Alexander* C > B; b. Dundee (1768-1851); in naval service, latterly as captain 1785-94; major figure in home missionary movement; a founder of S.P.G.H. 1797; p. independent (C) church in Edinburgh 1799- ; made several important tours of Highlands, mainly north and east, but in Arran and Kintyre with J. Campbell of Edinburgh (*q.v.*) in 1800; became B 1808; maintained B missionary interest through his church and B.H.M.S.; supported by his brother, Robert (1764-1842) of Airthrey, financer of 'Tabernacle' churches and seminaries (Haldane 1852; Yuille 1926: 55-60, 72-3; Escott 1960: 45-85).

•*Haldane, Robert* See previous entry.

Hutchison, William B; p. Kingussie B church 1808-50; B.H.M., later B.H.M.S.; accompanied W. Tulloch (*q.v.*) and P. Grant (*q.v.*) on tours; active in northern Highlands and Hebrides (B.H.M. Report 1822-3; B.H.M.S. Report 1828; Yuille 1926: 72, 284).

•*Kennedy, Andrew* USC; b. Leadhills; m. of Associate Synod at Keith; accompanied D. Fraser (*q.v.*) on 1820 tour; emigr. Canada 1841; d. London, Ontario 1882, aged 93 (H.M.S. Report 1820; Small 1904: I. 122-3).

Kennedy, James C; [S.P.G.H.]; p. Aberfeldy C church 1806-25, Inverness C church 1825-58; P.G.M.S.; active throughout Perthshire, mainland Argyll and Lorn (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Escott 1960: 279-80, 339, 361).

MacArthur, Archibald B; p. Glenlyon B church 1808-41 (Yuille 1926: 282).

McArthur, Donald B; b. Colintraive (?); active in Cowal and Firth of Clyde; key figure in founding of early B churches in this area, Strachur 1801, Port Bannatyne 1804, Dunoon *c.*1805, Orangefield (Greenock) 1806; seized and given to press-gang 1805; emigr. America (*i.e.* Canada?) *c.*1812 (*Present State* 1827: 46, 90; Yuille 1926: 63, 193, 195, 287).

McCallum, Archibald C; b. Kintyre; S.P.G.H.; based at Clachan, Kintyre, and active in Kintyre and Arran 1800-30; founder of four C churches in Kintyre, the earliest (possibly Whitehouse) in 1802; moved to Greenock 1830; later emigr. New Brunswick (Campbell 1805: 7; *Present State* 1827: 46; Haldane 1852: 288-90; Ross 1900: 238-9; Escott 1960: 323-4).

McDermid, John R; b. Kilbrandon; ordained at Banff 1796; active in Kintyre 1798; m. Canal St, Paisley 1802-34; a secretary of P.G.M.S.; active in Lorn and Lochgilphead area 1819; d. 1834, aged 71 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Struthers 1843: 400; Small 1904: I. 124; II. 520).

MacDougall, Duncan B; b. Ross of Mull; Gaelic schoolmaster in Tiree 1824-; p. Tiree B church 1838-50; B.H.M.S.; active in Inner Hebrides; d. 1850 (McNeill 1914: 17-18; Yuille 1926: 118-19, 289).

McEwan, Archibald C; b. Islay; entered C Hall 1822; p. Callander C church 1826-35, Rothesay C church 1837-8; P.G.M.S.; active in Knapdale, Arrochar, Glenorchy, Glencoe, Lochaber, Badenoch 1827-8; d. *c.*1838 (P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5, 11; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 282, 325, 344, 370).

McEwan, Dugald C; founder, with J. Reid (*q.v.*) of Oban C church 1805; p. Oban C church 1805-7 (Escott 1960: 324).

McEwan, John B; p. Tullymet B church 1822-39; B.H.M.; accompanied W. Hutchison (*q.v.*) and W. Tulloch (*q.v.*) on their tours; active from Kingussie northwards to Skye 1822 (B.H.M. Report 1822-3).

MacFarlane, John ?C; at Saddell, and in contact with P.G.M.S., 1828 (P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 10).

McGill, Anthony C; p. Rothesay C church 1839-48; probably same as 'Rev. Mr McGill' who was active in Cowal in 1824 with 16 preaching stations on Sundays and 12 on week-days (H.M.S. Report 1824: 8; Ross 1900: 240; Escott 1960: 325).

McGregor, Dugald C; p. Clachan C church -1848 (Escott 1960: 324).

McIntyre, Duncan B; p. Bunessan B church 1835-63, with D. Ferguson (*q.v.*) and C. McQuarie (*q.v.*); visited Colonsay (McNeill 1914: 18; Yuille 1926: 113).

MacKay, Alexander C; [S.P.G.H.]; p. Sannox C church 1806-56; accompanied D. Sinclair (*q.v.*) on tours after 1812; P.G.M.S. 1817-; active throughout Argyll (including Islay, Jura, Mull, Lismore) and in parts of Perthshire (Sinclair 1812: 16; P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Escott 1960: 325, 341).

MacKay, Edward C > B; [S.P.G.H.]; became B 1805; p. Thurso B church 1805-40; supported initially by Old Scotch Baptist itinerant fund; d. 1845 (Yuille 1926: 43-4, 53, 68, 289).

McKechnie, Neil C; entered C Hall 1816; p. Woodside C church, Aberdeen 1821-38; active in Ross and Cromarty (Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 263).

McKeich, Daniel C; entered C Hall 1820; p. Campbeltown C church 1829-36; P.G.M.S.; active in Kintyre and adjacent islands, including Mull, 1827 (P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 256: Escott 1960: 344).

MacKenzie, Alexander C; S.P.G.H.; active in northern Highlands and Western Isles 1798 (*Proceedings* 1799: 59-60).

McKillican (first name unknown) C; [S.P.G.H.]; p. Acharn C church 1804-; active in Breadalbane; accompanied J.A. Haldane (*q.v.*) and J. Campbell of Edinburgh (*q.v.*) to Sutherland in 1805; emigr. Canada 1816 (Campbell 1805: 19-20, 31; Escott 1960: 282-3).

Mackintosh, John B; p. Lochgilphead B church 1831-69; B.H.M.S. (Yuille 1926: 73, 117, 286).

Mackintosh, Lachlan C > B; S.P.G.H.; p. Rothiemurchus C church; became B by 1807; moved to Grantown-on-Spey, and founded B church of which he was pastor 1808-26; B.H.M.S.; p. Orangefield B church, Greenock 1829-32 (Haldane 1852; 319; Yuille 1926: 94-5, 283; Escott 1960: 263).

McLaren, John C; P.G.M.S.; in 1819-20 based at Ardtalnaig, and active in Breadalbane, Atholl, Strathardle, Braemar, Isla Water, Glen Brerachan; ? same as John McLaren, p. Killin C church 1818-20 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Escott 1960: 362).

McLaren, John C; b. Aberfeldy; entered C Hall 1827; p. Aberfeldy C church 1836-70; served over a dozen preaching stations (Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 280).

McLaren, Peter C; p. Callander C church 1808-26; P.G.M.S.; active in Lochaber, Appin, Lismore by 1820, in Lewis and Harris 1826, and Perthshire 1827 (with another society); latterly in Islay as p. Port Ellen C church -1843 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5-6, 8-9; Escott 1960: 282, 324).

McLaurin, Malcolm C; b. Ardchattan (1785-1859); trained Rotherham Independent Academy; full-time itinerant with P.G.M.S. 1818-; p. Port Charlotte C church 1822-59; in

1819–20 active in Lochgilphead, Inveraray, Benderloch, Appin, Fort William, Skye, Uist, Harris, Lewis, St Kilda, Inner Hebrides, Kintyre, Arran; visited Lewis and Harris again 1827, 1828 (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12–13; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7–8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 6; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; C.M. 1823: 721; C.Y.B. 1861: 224; MacLean 1915: 257; Escott 1960: 324).

McLean, James C; p. Port Charlotte C church –1843 (Escott 1960: 324).

McLean, Malcolm C; b. Tiree; entered C Hall 1822; p. Aberfeldy C church 1825–36; P.G.M.S.; in 1827 active in Ballachulish, Glencoe, Tiree and other islands, and throughout Perthshire (P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 339).

McLellan, Donald B; p. Glenlyon B church 1841–91 (Yuille 1926: 282).

McLeod, Alexander B; S.I.S.; based at Perth 1808, and at Crieff 1810; active in Perthshire; p. South Portland St, Glasgow 1820–69 (Anderson 1854: 101–2, 115–16; Yuille 1926: 62, 165).

McMillan, John B; b. Colonsay; assoc. with Lochgilphead B church; trained Bradford Academy 1822–5; based at Inveraray 1825–9/30; d. 1829/30 (Northern Education Society Reports 1804–25; McNeill 1914: 6; Yuille 1926: 115).

McNab, Samuel USC; b. Comrie (1791–1866); m. Rothesay Antiburgher church 1815–66; P.G.M.S.; active in Argyll 1819, Ross and Sutherland 1822 (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 13–14; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7–8; H.M.S. Report 1822: 10; Small 1904: II. 184–5).

McNaught, Daniel R; b. Southend, Kintyre; m. at Bridgend, Dumbarton; ordained 1795; active in Kintyre with N. Douglas (*q.v.*) 1797, and with J. McDermid (*q.v.*) and G. Buchanan (*q.v.*) 1798 (Douglas 1799: 56, 173; Struthers 1843: 397, 400; Small 1904: I. 228).

McNaughton, Angus B; p. Bowmore B church 1819–54; active in Islay and Colonsay; emigr. Canada (Bowmore MS 1869; McNeill 1914: 18; Yuille 1926: 112).

McPherson, Duncan C; p. Campbeltown C church 1805– (Ross 1900: 239, 247; Escott 1960: 344).

McPherson, John B; p. Lawers B church 1829–36 (Yuille 1926: 285).

McQuarie, Charles B; p. Bunessan B church 1842–61, with D. Ferguson (*q.v.*) and D. McIntyre (*q.v.*) (Yuille 1926: 113).

McQueen, James B; p. Broadford B church *c.*1827–; active elsewhere in the Highlands (Yuille 1926: 114).

MacRae (or *Rae*), *David* C > B; (1779–1862); [S.P.G.H.]; p. Fortrose C church *c.*1802–5; became B by 1805; p. Fortrose B church 1805–12; supported initially by Old Scotch Baptist itinerant fund (Yuille 1926: 68, 280, 304; Escott: 263–4).

McVicar, Donald C > B; S.P.G.H.; became B by 1805; p. Bellanoch B church 1805–14; emigr. Ontario (Anderson 1854: 25–7; Yuille 1926: 116; Whitehead 1981: 24).

Miller (or *Millar*), *James* B; p. Bowmore B church 1854–68; B.H.M.S.; active in Islay and Colonsay; probably same as James Millar, p. Rannoch B church 1826–30, and Oban B church 1834–42 (Bowmore MS 1869; McNeill 1914: 18; Yuille 1926: 112, 286, 287).

Morrison, John B; p. Campbelltown (?Ardersier) B church 1840–2 (Yuille 1926: 277).

Munro, Alexander USC; b. Farr; active as student in Lochgilphead and Crinan area and in Easdale 1824; licensed in Edinburgh 1824; continued at Lochgilphead 1824–; transferred northern Highlands; m. in Inverness 1842–54; d. 1854, aged 68 (H.M.S. Report 1824: 5–8, 10; Small 1904: I. 645).

Munro, John C; p. Knockando C church 1804–53; d. 1853 (Escott 1960: 262).

Munro, John USC; m. of General Associate Synod at Nigg; active in Sutherland, Wester and Easter Ross 1820–4; sometimes accompanied S. Somerville (*q.v.*) (H.M.S. Report 1820: 18–21; H.M.S. Report 1824: 8–9).

Munro, Walter B; p. Fortrose B church 1813–20, Inverness B church 18(? 20)–36; B.H.M.S.; active in Inner Hebrides 1824 (Yuille 1926: 118, 280, 283).

Murray, George C; P.G.M.S.; in 1819–27 based at Clachan, Kintyre, and active in Knapdale, Caolas-side, Gigha, Jura and other islands; sometime p. Port Charlotte C church; p. Skipness C church –1861; d. 1861 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7–8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 239; Escott 1960: 324–5).

Reid, John C; [S.P.G.H.]; founder, with D. McEwan (*q.v.*), of Oban C church 1805 (Escott 1960: 324).

Ross, Hugh C; S.P.G.H.; catechist; active in Perthshire, mainly around Dunkeld, and in Argyll 1798– (*Proceedings* 1799: 16–19).

Sinclair, Dugald B; b. Mid Argyll (1777–1870); assoc. initially with Bellanoch B church; S.I.S. 1810–23; B.H.M.S. 1823–31; p. Lochgilphead B church 1815–31; active in mainland Argyll, Inner Hebrides, Firth of Clyde, Perthshire and northern Highlands; emigr. Lobo, Ontario 1831 (Sinclair 1810–15; Anderson 1854: 115–16; Yuille 1926: 70, 116–17; Whitehead 1981: 24).

Sinclair, John USC; sent as student to Lewis *c*.1824 by the United Associate Synod (H.M.S. Report 1824: 12).

•*Somerville, Simon* USC; m. of General Associate Synod in Elgin; active in Easter Ross with J. Munro (*q.v.*) 1820 (H.M.S. Report 1820: 18–21).

Stewart, John B; p. Aberfeldy B church *c*.1846 (Yuille 1926: 275).

Tulloch, William C > B; b. Strathspey (1776–1861); S.P.G.H.; p. Killin C church 1801–3, and later p. Lawers C church; became B 1808; continued as p. Lawers B church 1808–14; removed to Renfrew; returned to Perthshire by 1816, becoming p. Aberfeldy B church –1819; removed to Kilmavionaig (Blair Atholl) 1819–61; B.H.M.; later B.H.M.S.; active throughout Perthshire, Argyll, Inner Hebrides, Inverness-shire, Ross-shire and Aberdeenshire (B.H.M. Report 1822–3; Yuille 1926: 71–2, 113, 119, 276, 285, 312; Escott 1960: 362).

Whyte, Charles C; p. Appin C church 1844–54; supported by Miss Rose Downie's Trust (Ross 1900: 239; Escott 1960: 340).

APPENDIX B

The following maps show the growth and distribution of Congregational and Baptist churches in the Highlands up to 1850. Figure 1 relates to the early formative period, which began with the founding of the S.P.G.H. in 1797, and was probably complete by 1805. Within this period, the main bases for further penetration of the Highlands were established, primarily in Argyll and Perthshire. It is noticeable that in Perthshire, where the principal evangelist was John Farquharson, there are no Baptist churches by 1805. In mainland Argyll and Bute, however, four Baptist churches are attested by this stage. Three of these (nos. 17, 19, 21) can be attributed to the work of

Donald McArthur, while the fourth (no. 16) may have emerged from Congregational activity in north Kintyre. The appearance of these Baptist churches, together with similar churches in the Black Isle and Caithness, owes much to the embracing of Baptist principles by itinerants like D. McVicar of Bellanoch who were trained at Haldane classes.

Figure 2 demonstrates the extension of Baptists and Congregationalists into other parts of the Highlands by 1850. It is evident that further Congregational churches appear chiefly in Kintyre and the Inner Hebrides (mainly Islay and Tiree). In Perthshire, Baptist churches emerge from most of the earlier Congregational churches following the adoption of Baptist principles by the Haldanes themselves in 1808, and the Congregational impetus diminishes. Congregational activity thus moves more noticeably westwards after 1808, and itinerants such as Peter McLaren and Malcolm McLaurin operate extensively in the islands before settling there (see Appendix A). Figure 2 further indicates that distinct groups or families of Congregational and Baptist churches can be identified (the Moray Firth group, the Strathspey group, the Perthshire group, and the Argyll and the Isles group).

The only churches of lasting significance generated by this movement in the north-west Highlands are found in Skye, where Baptists were able to build on the earlier work of John Farquharson and his most distinguished convert, Donald Munro (MacCowan 1902: 1–30). The absence of Congregational or Baptist churches from other parts of the north-west Highlands is to be explained by several factors, including geographical remoteness, the presence of Evangelical ministers in some strategic mainland parishes (*e.g.* Lachlan MacKenzie in Lochcarron, Donald MacGillivray in Kilmallie, John MacDonald in Urquhart, and Alexander Stewart in Dingwall), and the timely introduction of Evangelical ministers to areas which were being affected by the dissenting movement (*e.g.* the settlement of Alexander MacLeod in Uig, Lewis, in 1824 (MacLeod 1976: 197)).

It is to be noted, finally, that some of the churches which appear first in Figure 2 may have originated earlier than 1805, although they were not formally constituted until after that date. Thus, it seems likely that the Congregational church at Sannox in Arran (no. 46) derives from missionary activity initiated by James Haldane and John Campbell of Edinburgh as early as 1800. Its formal constitution, however, seems to have been in 1806, when Alexander MacKay became its pastor. At the same time, it is to be appreciated that not all churches shown in Figure 2 actually survived until 1850. The Strachur congregation (no. 17), for example, was absorbed by Port Bannatyne (no. 21) before 1805, and the latter was still in existence in 1827 (*Present State* 1827: 90), although it probably did not continue much beyond 1830.

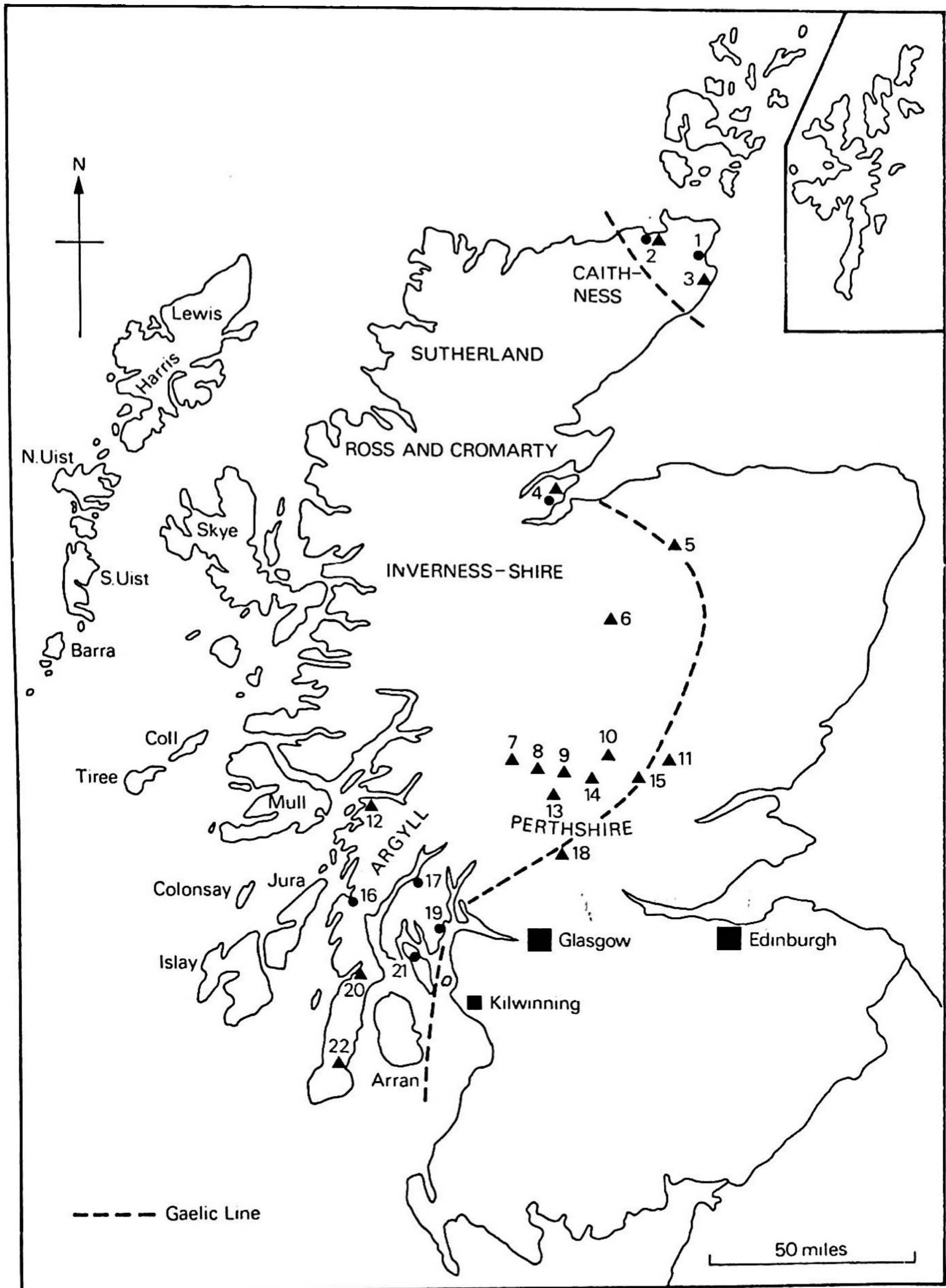

Fig. 1 Baptist and Congregational churches in the Highlands by 1805.

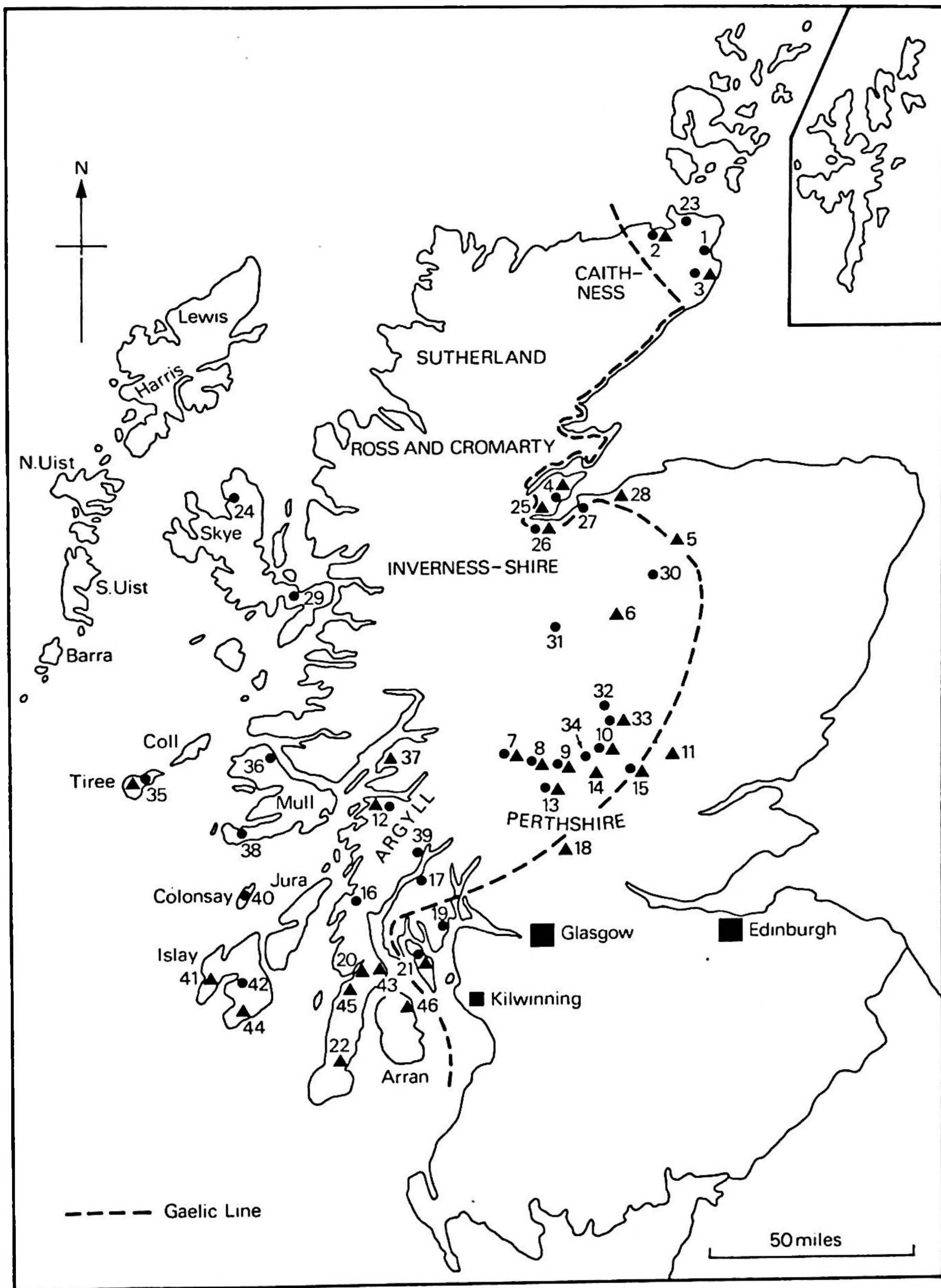

Fig. 2 Baptist and Congregational churches in the Highlands by 1850.

Key to Maps

●Baptist church
▲Congregational church

1 Keiss
2 Thurso
3 Wick
4 Fortrose
5 Knockando
6 Rothiemurchus
7 Rannoch
8 Glenlyon
9 Lawers
10 Aberfeldy
11 Blairgowrie
12 Oban
13 Killin
14 Acharn
15 Dunkeld
16 Bellanoch (later at Lochgilphead)
17 Strachur
18 Callander
19 Dunoon
20 Whitehouse
21 Port Bannatyne (Baptist)
Rothesay (Congregational)
22 Campbeltown
23 Scarfskerry
24 Uig
25 Avoch
26 Inverness
27 Ardersier (Campbelltown)*
28 Nairn
29 Broadford
30 Grantown-on-Spey
31 Kingussie
32 Blair Atholl
33 Tullymet
34 Fortingall
35 Tiree
36 Tobermory
37 Appin
38 Bunessan
39 Inveraray
40 Colonsay
41 Port Charlotte
42 Bowmore
43 Skipness
44 Port Ellen
45 Clachan
46 Sannox

*It is possible that Campbelltown, here identified as Ardersier, should be identified as Campbeltown, Argyll.

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Leaves from the lost *Album amicorum* of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit

J. K. CAMERON

The practice of keeping an autograph album in which friends and acquaintances entered their names 'for remembrance sake' originated in Germany, probably in Wittenberg toward the middle of the sixteenth century (Nickson 1970 : 9; Fechner 1981 : 7–21). By the end of that century it had spread throughout northern Europe in both protestant and catholic lands and had been taken up by those young men of substance sent abroad by their parents to gain a knowledge of the world, young men who were the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century precursors of those who later embarked on the Grand Tour. The *Album amicorum* or Stammbuch, the proud possession of the student as he went from one university to another and from one country to another, consisted either of blank pages usually handsomely bound together or of an interleaved book. The vast majority of those now extant are of the former type; one of the earliest, however, is of the latter and is a copy of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* but often editions of Alciati's *Icones* or similar emblem books were put to this use. Professors, fellow students, and acquaintances of the owner selected a page at random, wrote on it one quotation, or more, usually in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew (sometimes in all three languages) embodying a moral or religious aphorism and then added a dedication in Latin in honour of the owner. The dedication regularly incorporated the date and the place at which the entry had been made. In the course of time as the custom developed and the social status or rank of the owner became more elevated albums became elaborate little books, incorporating carefully executed and illuminated coats of arms, pen sketches of places visited and of monuments admired, as well as skilfully painted miniatures. Several examples belonging to those who visited Britain have not only richly illuminated royal coats of arms accompanying the signatures of the king and queen, but also attractive miniatures of members of the royal family and of officers of state and sketches of the city of London. One of the finest examples has drawings of London from the south bank of the Thames, of London Bridge, of Windsor Castle, and of a number of monuments within Westminster Abbey (Butzmann 1966: Nos 231, 235; Nevinson 1979 : 167–176).

It is fortunate that seemingly large numbers of these autograph books have survived, and are now preserved in public libraries. A considerable number may also still be in private hands. They have for long been of interest to scholars and have been

widely recognised as a valuable historical and cultural source. The British Library has a magnificent collection of over 500 items and there is scarcely a public library of note on the continent without its collection of Stammbücher. The Libraries of Scotland are, however, the exception. Edinburgh University has the Album of George Craig, an *alumnus*, which has as its central part a beautifully printed Greek New Testament. It was fully described by J. F. Kellas Johnstone in 1924 (18–31). It covers Craig's travels in England, France, Italy, Switzerland and Holland in the four years 1602–1605. Kellas Johnstone (1924 : 48) drew attention to the 'beautiful and interesting Stammbuch' also in Edinburgh University Library (Laing MS.III.283) which belonged to Michiel van Mer 'a wealthy Hamburger'. Van Mer was one of the considerable number of continental travellers who visited England in the early seventeenth century. It is comparable with some of the finest examples in the British Library (B.L. Egerton MSS, 1222, 1269; Add. MS 16889; Nevinson 1979 : 176). The National Library of Scotland purchased in 1975 the exceptionally beautiful album of Sir Michael Balfour, later Lord Balfour of Burleigh (MS. 16000), which contains autographs by members of the British and Danish royal families, continental statesmen, nobility and gentry, and Scots travelling or studying in Europe. The volume also contains coats of arms, and paintings of personages and scenes. Entries extend over the years 1596–1610. Some of the contents of this album have been discussed by Nevinson (1979 : 167–176). Recently the National Library has received on long term loan as part of the Library of St Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen, the album that belonged to the Scottish orientalist, George Strachan of the Mearns. It is in a rich Italian binding, and covers the years 1599–1609. It has also been carefully studied by Kellas Johnstone (1924 : 1–17; Cherry 1984 : 67–69).

The albums of George Strachan, George Craig, and Sir Michael Balfour are the finest known to have been kept by Scotsmen. Kellas Johnstone (1924 : 47) knew of the existence of the album of David Graeme from the catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition held at Edinburgh in 1891. It covered his student life at continental universities from 1582–1586, but its subsequent location is unknown. A more fortunate fate, however, befell the album of Thomas Seget which is now in the Vatican Library (Codex Vatic. lat. 9385). A descriptive article appeared in 1892 (Baumgarten 1892). Seget (*c.*1570–1628) was a graduate of the second class of Edinburgh University in 1588. He left Scotland in 1594 or 1595 for the continent where he spent the remainder of his life in the company of many of the leading men of letters and of science of his day, including Lipsius, Galileo, and Kepler.[1]

The number of albums owned by Scottish travellers of which the location is known is thus surprisingly small. On the other hand the number of extant albums of continental scholars and travellers who visited Scotland is probably to be reckoned in tens or twenties. Several albums have been fully described in periodical articles; a selection has been discussed in a forthcoming article.[2] It is, however, difficult to believe that albums were not owned and carried by many of the large number of Scots

who travelled from university to university on the continent in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose wanderings can be followed not only in the official matriculation registers but also in the albums of their continental friends to which they contributed entries. On returning home scholars such as Andrew Melville, John Johnston, Andrew Aidie, and Patrick Sandys regularly signed the albums of continental students visiting and studying in Scotland. One such album is that of Thomas Cumming, now in the British Library (Add. MS 17083). It has been regarded as that of a Scot but this statement has to be qualified. Cumming was born in the Low Countries where his father, William Cumming, was in the military service of the States General. Thomas is regularly designated as 'Belga Scotus'. His album, an exceptionally fine example, has also been fully described by Kellas Johnstone (1924 : 32–47). It records Cumming's early student days on the continent and his visit to Britain. This visit began in Scotland in August 1612 and was of less than three months' duration. He left for England where he remained for a little under a year. Thereafter he returned to the continent.

It is therefore particularly interesting to discover the existence, albeit only in fragments, of one other album that can correctly be described as that of a Scottish scholar (N.L.S. Adv. MS 17.1.9). Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit (1586–1670) spent his life in the service of the Crown. He was Director of the Royal Chancery in Scotland from 1606, an advocate, a Lord of Session and a Privy Councellor. He was knighted by King James in 1617. Today he is best remembered for his contribution to learning in three distinct areas: his endowment of the Chair of Humanity in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, together with his establishment there of the Humanity Class Library; by his work in collecting and editing the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*; and by his collaboration in collecting and providing financial support for the publication of the Maps of Scotland by the celebrated Dutch cartographer and printer Jan Blaeu. Toward the end of his life he compiled *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen from 1550 to 1650,* a somewhat embittered account of Scottish affairs, and his only contribution to the history of the period (Rogers 1872 : 1–24; Snoddy 1968).

Scot matriculated from St Leonard's College in session 1602–3 'anno cursus tertio' and graduated Master of Arts in 1605 (St A.M. UY 305/3: 135, 308). Rogers, the author of a short memoir prefaced to his edition of *The Staggering State,* asserted, without providing evidence, that from St Andrews Scot had 'proceeded to one of the continental universities for the study of classical learning'. T. G. Snoddy also suggested that he may have studied abroad from 1606 to 1611—a conclusion which he based on the fact that 'overseas scholars were welcomed as guests at Scotstarvit' and also corresponded with him. From the contents of the manuscript collection of 'Letters to Scotstarvit' in the National Library of Scotland Snoddy thus assumed the establishment of an earlier acquaintance with scholars on the continent. A detailed study of much of this correspondence, however, provides a different reason for its existence from that suggested by Snoddy. Whether Scot did or did not study abroad,

during the years immediately following his graduation in St Andrews, must for the present remain an open question.

Mr Christopher Upton has recently identified and drawn my attention to the hitherto unrecognised existence of leaves from the *Album amicorum* of Sir John Scot in the collection of 'Letters' already mentioned. They are folios 101 to 112 of the manuscript and are unmistakably all that survives in this collection of what was an album of regular size and usual contents. The pages measure 14.1 cm. by 8.7 cm.

For separated pages of an album to have survived is not uncommon; a number of albums in the British Library and in libraries on the continent consist of re-assembled but previously dispersed leaves. The dismemberment of albums may partly be explained by the fact that they regularly contained a number of blank pages and may have been regarded by their owners or by those ignorant of their nature and value as a ready source of writing material. At least one example in the British Library has survived abuse as a child's doodling pad (Add MS. 19828; Cameron 1986). Two of the leaves (fols. 109, 112) in the National Library collection of Scot's 'Letters' have been used for writing upon, possibly by Scot. It has also been noted that Scot used as his Commonplace Book a manuscript that had begun its life as his catalogue of gifts to the Humanity Class Library in St Leonard's College (Pringle 1974 : 35n.1).

Only twelve inscribed leaves of Scot's *Album* are extant, but even such a small number, especially when considered along with several of the letters in the collection, is full of significance, despite the facts that the dated entries extend over a short span—from February 1620 to February of the following year—and that they were made only in two countries, Scotland and the Netherlands. Scot has informed us that he had been 'twice in the Low Countries for printing the Scots poets and atlas' (Snoddy 1968 : 26). *The Register of the Privy Council* (*RPC* 1895 : 12.78) records that Scot had leave to travel 'To Flanders and other foreign parts beyond the sea and there remain for the space of one year after the date hereof' on 25 August 1619, but he did not take immediate advantage of it. The earliest entries in the pages are dated prior to his departure and the latest probably during his stay in the Low Countries, that is to say between 2 February 1620 and February 1621, although it is not clear that this latest entry was made in Holland.

An analysis of the individual entries in chronological order, as far as this can be ascertained, taken along with the contents of other parts of the manuscript collection, provides much interesting information about Scot and his relations with overseas students in St Andrews. The earliest entry (fol. 109) dated 2 February 1620, was made at Edinburgh by Servatius Carpentarius (1559–1646). The motto or *sententia* is in Greek and the dedication in Latin. Carpentarius belonged to the distinguished De Carpentier family of Holland (Sellers 1909 : 3; 17–25) which could trace its history to the twelfth century, and which numbered amongst its members a bishop of Chartres and an abbot of St Vaast in Arras, counsellors to emperors, kings and princes, and governors of newly discovered and conquered countries of the United Netherlands.

He is entered in Robert Howie's 'List of Students in St Mary's College, St Andrews' for 1617–18 as 'Dordracensis Hollandus' (St A. M. UY 152/2 : 223). It would appear that he had remained in Scotland until 1620. He donated to the St Leonard's Humanity Class Library two works, Cato's *Libri de re rustica*, Paris 1543 and Paraeus' *Electa Plantina*, Naples 1617[3] (Pringle 1974 : 43). He subsequently studied at Leiden and Utrecht and became a Doctor of Medicine (*Alb. Stud. Lug. Bat.* 1875 : 156). From 1630 to 1646 he was Assessor of the Secret and Political Council of Brazil (Sellers 1909 : 25–30).

The next entry (fol. 110) dated 15 February 1620, was made 'in his house', by which is probably meant Scot's house in Edinburgh rather than at Scotstarvit Tower. It is by Peter and Franciscus Krasius from Germany. The entry comprises three Latin sententiae[4]: 'Necessitas ante rationem est, maxime in bello, quo raro permittitur tempora eligere', the source of which has not been traced, and two extracts from Horace's *Odes* (2.10.13ff.;2.3.25ff.):

> Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
> alteram sortem bene praeparatum
> pectus.

and

> Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
> versatur urna serius, ocius,
> sors exitura et nos in aeternum
> exilium impositura cymbae.

Further information about the two brothers has not been discovered but in all probability they represent the growing number of young continental travellers who in visiting Britain in the early seventeenth century included Scotland in their itinerary. If so they were following hard on the footsteps of Jakob and Matthew Fetzer of Nurnberg who made in 1619 one of the most extensive visits of any continental visitor at this period to Scotland (Cameron 1986).

One month later, 12 March 1620, Eustathius Swartius, Palatinus, and Cornelius Stuartius, Brabantus, made their individual entries (fols. 107, 112) on the same day in Edinburgh. Underneath a long quotation in Greek from Epictetus is a generous dedication from Swartius who indicated that the entry was being made when he was about to set out for France. Swartius must also have been a visitor to Scotland from the continent. He is not recorded in any of the St Andrews University records nor those of the Universities of Edinburgh or Glasgow. From his entry in the album of Joachim Morsius we know that he was at Cambridge on 4 February 1620, and was probably at that time on his way north (Schneider 1929 : 105). It is unlikely that he made an extensive tour of Scotland, but that he had been well entertained particularly by Scot is proved by a letter (fol.73) written to Scot from Paris, dated 24 August 1620. From this letter it is clear that he had more than a passing acquaintance with Scot, whom he hoped had returned safely from his visit to Holland. He

expressed his gratitude to Scot, professed his fidelity and his desire to be allowed to convey the fruit of his studies derived from his travels to Scot's son. In this way he would be able to testify to the benefits he had received from him. The matter of assisting in the education of Scot's son had, it appears, been previously discussed and Swartius professed that there would be no delay on his part in fulfilling his responsibilities if Scot so desired to take up the offer. If, however, this was not possible he hoped that either the son or an other member of Scot's family might visit his own native country and there afford Swartius the opportunity of expressing his gratitude. He informed Scot how he might keep in touch with him in Paris as he intended to spend a full year in France. Letters could be sent to a merchant, 'in via Jacobaea', or to his landlord 'qui demeure en la Rue de St Martin a l'ensigne du lion noir près de la fontaine Mobue'. At the end of his letter he referred to two of his fellow-country men known to Scot, Jacob van Dijck and Daniel Heinsius, then sent his greetings to Scot's wife, and asked that greetings also be conveyed to Scot's brother, to Patrick Nisbet, and to Robert Balcanquall whom he probably met either in Edinburgh or Cambridge.[5] On 30 April 1622 he matriculated as a law student in Leiden (*Alb. Stud. Lug. Bat.* 1875 : 159). It is disappointing that no further correspondence between the two friends has so far come to light although the entry in Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelerten Lexicon* (1751 : 4.951), states that Swartius left several letters in manuscript. He subsequently became Professor of Politics at Amsterdam having also held teaching posts in schools in Herzogenbusch and Utrecht.

A little more is known of the Scottish connection of Cornelius Stuart who, as has been said, made his entry (fol. 112) on the same day as Swartius in Scot's album, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The Hebrew is from Psalm 1. v. 6; the Greek from Herodotus 5.24 and the Latin from Cicero's *In Brutum*. He matriculated as a student in St Andrews in 1619 (St A. M. UY 305/3 : 167; UY 152/2 : 226). In the previous year he had studied at Franeker (*Alb. Stud. Fran.* 1968: No 1678.61). In the album entry he is designated 'Ber-op-zomio Brabantus' (Bergen-op-Zoom) and was probably of Scottish extraction. While studying at St Leonard's College at the time of Scot's endowment of the Chair of Humanity and the establishment of the Humanity Class Library, he donated to that library a copy of G. Heidelfeldius, *Sphinx theologico philosophica* (Pringle 1974 : 43). It may well be that he accompanied Swartius at least for part of the journey back to the continent. At a much later date, March 1646, he matriculated at Leiden (*Alb. Stud. Lug. Bat.* 1875 : 366). A letter from him, unfortunately without date or place of writing, has also been preserved in Scot's 'Letters' (fol.66). It was probably written soon after his return and is essentially one of gratitude. There is, however, one piece of tantalising information concerning a 'Liber chartareus' which 'Abrahamus' (almost certainly Abraham Sauchello or Sauchelle, a fellow Dutch student (see *infra*) had promised to send to him and was not yet 'comparatus'. The letter ends with greetings to his wife and in a postscript Abraham's greetings are also sent.

Abraham Sauchello is well attested in St Andrews University records. He appears in Principal Howie's list of St Mary's College students for the year 1617–18 and in the Matriculation Register for 1618, where he described himself as 'Middelburgo-Zelandus' (St A. M. UY 152/2 : 223; UY 305/3 : 163). It is as such that he signed Scot's album at St Andrews on 24 March 1620 (fol.102). It was probably about the same time that he donated a copy of Plautus' *Sarcinatis comoediae viginti superstites* to the Humanity Class Library in St Leonard's College (Pringle 1974, 43). His entry in the album in a fine continental hand is in Greek, French, and Latin. The Greek *sententia* is Οἷα τ' ἀνὴρ ῥέξῃ τοιὸν τέλος αὐτὸν ἱκάνει.[6] The French is a curious and amusing rime:

qui bien se mine bien se noit
qui bien se noit bien se cognoit
qui bien se cognoit peu se prise
qui peu se prise, Sage est.

The inscription or dedication is worth quoting in full:

Hoc debitae gratudinis ac indellibilis
τῆς φιλίας τεκμήριον incomparabili
amico suo ac maecenati D. Jano Scott a
Scottistarvet, equiti aurato, ac
Cancellariae Jacobi D.G. mag. Britt. Fran.
Hib. et Regis Directori ponebat
Abraham Sauchelle
Middelburgo Zelandus
Andreapoli 1620 3/24

Sauchello had inscribed Scot's album probably shortly before his return to the Continent. On his return to the Netherlands he matriculated at Leiden on 23 September 1621 as a theological student (*Alb. Stud. Lug. Bat.* 1875 : 156). His name immediately precedes that of Servatius Carpentrius. There is a letter (fol.26) from Sauchello to Scot which although without indication of place of origin or date had been written prior to his departure from Scotland. This letter is in the nature of an academic report of his progress especially in mastering Latin 'voces', from which it would appear that Sauchello had benefited from Scot's patronage. That Scot had been his friend and benefactor may also be deduced from the fact that Sauchello was at Scotstarvit when Scot entertained Jakob Fetzer and his younger brother Matthew there on 23 April 1619, in company that included two of Scotland's leading *literati*, William Drummond of Hawthornden (Scot's brother-in-law) and Sir William Alexander (Wolfenbüttel, MS Blankenburg 235 : fols. 57r and v; 61r).

One month to the day after Sauchello had signed the album, *i.e.* on 25 April 1620, Scot was in The Hague. Of Scot's visit to the Low Countries the surviving leaves from the album have regrettably little to inform us. At The Hague on 25 April 1620 he met Jacob van Dijck (*c.* 1575–1625) one of Holland's leading scholars. A native of

Harlem, Van Dijck belonged to one of the Dutch families which had emigrated to Sweden for commercial reasons. There he obtained a prominent position in diplomacy and was appointed to the Swedish Council of State for Dutch affairs in 1609. Subsequently he returned to The Hague as Swedish Ambassador and became one of the most important figures in the capital. His mansion house, rivalling those of the English and French ambassadors, became a centre for cultural entertainment as he 'began to play the role of literary patron' (Sellin 1968 : 52). In the album (fol. 101) he signed as legate of the Swedish government at The Hague. His entry in Latin is a quotation from Horace (Odes 3. 29. 49ff.):

> Fortuna saevo laeta negotio, et
> ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
> transmutat incertos honores
> nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
> laudo manentem, si celeris quatit
> pinnas, resigno quae dedit, et mea
> virtute me involvo

The quotation was, however, not completed, probably on purpose. It continues:

> probamque
> pauperiem sine dote quaero.[7]

Three days later, 28 April 1620, Scot was in Leiden in the company of Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), the distinguished Neo-Latin poet and professor of Poetry, Politics and History at the University of Leiden. He was also State Historiographer Royal to the Crown of Sweden (Sellin 1968: xiii ff.; *NNBW* 1912: 2.554). The entry (fol.104) is a brief quotation from Horace, 'Strenua nos exercet inertia' (Epistles, 1.11.28f.), which would undoubtedly bring to Scot's mind the rest of the lines,

> navibus atque
> quadrigis petimus bene vivere.[8]

Heinsius, however, in the years of religious contention from 1617 to 1621, normally cited the quotation in full in the entries he made in albums. Dr Barbara Becker-Contarino, in a most interesting article 'Die Stammbucheintragungen des Daniel Heinsius' (Fechner 1981: 137–164), has a most illuminating comment to make on his use of this quotation (p.151).

> Es ist ein bedeutungsvolles Zitat und der Kontext der Epistel, in der Horaz rät, mit sich selbst Frieden zu schliessen und zu sich selbst zu finden um glückich zu sein, ist hier ebenfalls wichtig: In den für Heinsius besonders arbeitsreichen Jahren, während die junge Republik der Niederlande die entscheidende religiöse und politische Auseinander setzung durchlebte, wählte Heinsius ein Motto, das die Unentschiedenheit, die Tatenlosigkeit verdammt und zur Selbstbesinnung rät. Das ist nicht dasselbe wie die Aufforderung, der calvinistischen Kardinaltugend, Fleiss, nachzukommen.

It was not unusual for 'sententiae' in albums to be both moralistic and pessimistic. Further in accordance with his regular practice Heinsius inserted in his hand the following poem in honour of Scot (fol.103):

> Hunc genus et priscae commendat adorea stirpis,
> Situque squalidae per atria imagines:
> Nobilitant illum fasces atque aura Quiritum;
> Aut census ingens nomen ac animos parat:
> Sunt quos Musa beat caelo, quos castalis unda
> Tellure raptos coelitum inserit choro:
> Perpaucis virtus cordi sedet enthea et illos
> Longe ante-ponit purpurae atque fascibus:
> Singula quisque, sibi sic vendicat. Ast tibi nostri,
> O SCOTTE secli sidus et rarum decus,
> Non sola est decori stirps aut insignia honorum aut
> Virtute cassa et literis opulentia.
> Singula verum aliis quae sunt, Tibi divite cornu
> Concessit uni cuncta syderum favor.[9]

One can only imagine the pleasure which Scot must have derived from meeting one who devoted so much of his efforts to classical philosophy and who was one of the chief ornaments of the Dutch academy. Shortly before Scot's arrival Heinsius had distinguished himself as a supporter of Calvinist orthodoxy at the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) where he had also been Secretary of the lay Commissioners. On his return to Scotland Scot received a letter from Heinsius dated 29 June 1621 (fol.46) in which he expressed his friendship towards Scot and informed him of some forthcoming publications.

Little more than two weeks later Scot's travels appear to have taken him to Campvere, one of the main centres of Scottish trade with the Netherlands, where he met again Alexander MacDuff, minister to the Scots congregation from 1614-1625 (*Fasti* 1915-50 : 5.170; 7.541; Rooseboom 1910 : 151, 166). Scot and MacDuff had been fellow students at St Leonard's College (St A.M. UY. 305/3 : 130). Either at this time or perhaps later he contributed to the Humanity Class Library a copy of Jacobus Pontanus's *Symbolarum libri 17 quibus P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica Georgica Aeneis . . . illustrantur,* published at Leiden in 1604 (Pringle 1974 : 46, 51). His entry in the album (fol.106) is in Greek from the New Testament: a free quotation from Matthew 12 v.35 τους ἀγαθούς ἀγαθά ποιέι and another from 1 Timothy 6 v.6 ἡ εὐσέβεια προσιμὸς μέγας[10]; and four lines of Latin verse. Curiously the long dedication does not mention Scot by name but refers to William Scot of Elie.

At Campvere Scot also met Justinus Arondeaulx or Arondeaux who had been a student in St Mary's College, St Andrews, in 1617-18, along with his relative Justin van Assche (St A.M. UY305/3 : 163). Arondeaulx and Assche had previously studied arts and divinity at Franeker, where Arondeaulx had been enrolled on 23 July 1612 and Assche on 22 June 1615 (*Alb. Stud. Fran.* Nos. 1360, 1541). He left St Andrews

along with Van Assche who went to Saumur (fol. 62, 63), but Arondeaulx returned home to Zeeland. Later he went with Issac Beeckman to study at Caen (*NNBW* 1 : 184, 187). While at St Andrews he contributed along with a fellow Dutch student, Godfried van der Haggen, and John Leech, a trilogy to *The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh 1618 : 182–191). Van der Haggen wrote the first piece, *Coridonis Querela, super diuturna Daphnidis absentia*; Leech the second, *Daphnis Rediens*; and Arondeaulx the third, *Gaudium Coridonis ob Daphnidis adventum*. His entry in the album (fol.108) dated 15 June 1620 consists of a motto from Horace, 'Sapere aude' (Epistles 1.2.40), and six lines of original Latin verse:

> Charta suo foret hac Justini nomen et una
> Corpus Arondaei Scotte animaque sinum
> Omnia namque tibi si mens donare requirat
> Se donare nihil carius illa potest.
> Accipe sinceri precor hanc in pignus amoris
> Subque meo totum hic nomine me teneas.[11]

A much longer poem in honour of Scot is found on folios 57 and 58. It was signed at Campvere but is undated.

One further entry (fol.111) completes the number that are extant for this visit to Holland. It was written 'e Holandia decessum,' that is to say as Scot was about to return to Scotland. This probably took place early in the summer of 1620 and before the expiry of his licence. This entry is from the pen of Samuel Wallace who was probably the son of John Wallace, Depute Conservator of Scottish interests at Campvere. He himself was depute to Thomas Cunningham, Conservator from 1640 to 1645. Scot later used him as a literary agent and stayed with him in 1645 (Rogers 1872 : 13; Courthope 1928). He was, as were so many of those who have been mentioned, a contributor to the Humanity Class Library. He donated Jean Passerat's *Commentarii in C. Val. Catullum* (Pringle 1974 : 47). The entry contains two *sententiae*: one in Greek, a well-known verse from the Bible, Proverbs 9 v.10, ἀρχή σοφίας τιμᾶσθαι τὸν κύριον; and one in Latin, 'Quo incundior consuetudo, Eo acerbior decessus'.[12]

All the entries discussed belong to the first half of 1620. No leaf survives for the second half of that year and the remaining one (fol.105) to be considered is dated 'Anno a partu salutifero MDC XXI, Mense Principe ad Umblicum mortuo, Quo tempore diva Lupercalia celebrabant Romani', *i.e.* 15 February 1621. There are two proverbial *sententiae*—one in Greek, a well-known proverb, at the top of the page, ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾷν [γίγνεται] τὸ ἐρᾷν with a play on the resemblance of the words ὁρᾷν and ἐρᾷν; and the other in Latin at the foot, 'Vivit post funera Justus'[13] which contains a play on the name of the author—Justus Liraeus. The usual form of the proverb has as its subject 'virtus'. Liraeus described himself, as did so many of the students who came to St Andrews, as 'Middelburgi Zelandorum'. Unfortunately, no indication is given of the place of entry; his name does not appear in the St Andrews records. He

matriculated at Leiden on 16 May 1594 as a liberal arts student. From 1598 to 1613 he was a *preceptor* at the Latin School of Middelburg, and from 1613 to 1630 its *rector*; subsequently he was at Utrecht. He died in 1646 (Meertens 1943: 251, 384, 385, 429, 463).

It must remain a matter of regret that so little has survived of what would in its entirety most certainly have been a very interesting album to add to the very small number of recorded Scottish examples. The 'Letters to Scotstarvit' as well as illuminating much in the surviving pages of Scot's album add considerably to our knowledge of Scot's friends in the Netherlands; they also provide evidence of his continuing close connection with continental students at St Andrews, and of his entertainment of visiting aristocratic travellers who included Scotland in their itinerary. As part of the larger topic of Scoto-Dutch academic and cultural relations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, they form a small but significant archive.

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NOTES

1 The most extensive treatment of Seget's career is by O. Odložilik, 'Thomas Seget; a Scottish friend of Szymon Szymonowicz', *Polish Review* 11 (1966) pp.3-39.

2 This subject is treated in my article 'Some Continental Visitors to Scotland in the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries' in *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850*, edited by T. C. Smout (Edinburgh 1986) pp. 45-61.

3 The Paraeus volume has not been traced; the Cato is in the University Library (Scot. PA6139.R8) and contains an inscription and signature in the donor's hand.

4 Translated, they are:

'Necessity takes precedence over reason, especially in war when the situation rarely allows for choice.'

'Hopeful in adversity, fearful in prosperity is the heart that is well prepared for good or ill.'

'We are all alike being gathered in; the urn of fate is shaken for all, and sooner or later our lot will drop out and place us in the ship that will carry us off into everlasting exile.'

5 Both Nisbet and Balcanquall were *alumni* of Edinburgh University (*Catalogue* of *the Graduates . . . of the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh 1858, pp. 19, 22). Nisbet later became a Senator of the College of Justice, and Balcanquall, a prominent minister in the Church (Brunton and Haig 1832 : 295; *Fasti* 1915-50 : 1.396).

6 It may be freely translated 'As a man sows so shall he also reap.' This hexameter is found in the *scholion* to Pindar, Pythian Ode 4.10, and is by a very obscure historian Menecles Barcaeus (see F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griekischen Historiker* (Leiden 1964) pt. III, 270.6; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1956) vol. 2, p. 168.) It was probably excerpted from

its arcane source at some stage to become a Renaissance *florilegium*. For tracing this quotation and for this note I am indebted to my colleagues, Mr R. Green of the Department of Humanity and Dr M. Campbell of the Department of Greek.

7 'Fortune delighting in her cruel pursuit and persisting in her insolent game, shifts her fickle favours, indulgent now to me, now to some other. I praise her while she remains with me, but if she spreads her wings for flight, I renounce her gifts and enfold myself within my virtue'

and

'and woo worthy but simple poverty.'

8 'Useless activity keeps us going'

and

'With boats and cars we seek to make life happy.'

9 'The fame that comes from birth and ancient lineage set out in portraits gathering dust and mould in the family hall commend this man. High office and the aura of nobility set him apart whose great name signifies both riches and liberality. There are those whom the Muses bless; those taken from their earthly state and by the waters of Castalia transported to the heavenly choir. Divine inspiration lodges in the hearts of a few and elevates them above the honours of royal birth and stately office. Everyone lays claim to an individual gift, but to you, O Scott, rare star and ornament of our age, there is [given] not just the splendour of ancestry or the insignia of high office or riches without virtue and learning. Individually these gifts are given to others, but on you the favour of the stars has bestowed them all in rich abundance'.

10 'A good man brings forth good deeds' (Matt. 12 v.35)

and

'Goodness with contentment is great gain' (1 Tim. 6 v.6).

11 'Let this page with Justin's name be his bond and, O Scot, Arondeaulx's body and soul its charter chest, for I intend to give my all to you. There is nothing more dear than to give oneself. Accept, I sincerely pray, these lines in token of my love for here in my name you possess me wholly.'

12 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom'

and

'The more enjoyable the companionship, the more bitter its loss.'

13 'Seeing leads to loving'

and

'Justus lives on after death.'

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A Recently-Discovered Poem in Scots Vernacular: 'Complections of Men in Verse'

JOYCE M. SANDERSON

In the National Library of Scotland there are two bound folio transcripts of the Historical Collections of Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkhill (1586–1655) (Advocates' MSS 34.3.11; 34.3.12). Searching these for evidence of a familial connection between Sir Lewis Stewart and William Stewart, the sixteenth-century court poet, I found that the only non-factual item in the Collections was a poem in early Scots vernacular. Also in the National Library is Sir Lewis's original manuscript of his Legal and Historical Collections (Adv.MS 22.1.14). The transcripts are of the latter part only, the Historical Collections, which contain historical notes and copies of ancient charters.

The Scots vernacular poem and some other parts of the transcripts do not appear in the original manuscript. However, it was found that this manuscript lacks sixteen folios. Instead of 256 folios, as expected from its sixteen 16-leaf gatherings, there are only 240. Eight folios are missing from the Historical Collections, five near the beginning (where the stub of one remains) and three at the end of them, probably before the single remaining page of an index. The gap of five folios occurs in virtually the same place in the text as the poem appears in the transcripts (34.3.11, pp. 13–16; 34.3.12, pp. 14–17). It seems likely, therefore, that the poem was written on some of the folios now missing from the original manuscript.

The original manuscript is signed five times on a preliminary page by 'Maister Lues Steuart' in varying forms, and is inscribed:

> Hic liber est meus. Possum producere testis.
> Si quis me querite Lodouicus mihi nomen erat.
> Stuart jungatur. Quis scripsit sic nominatur.
>
> [This book is mine. I can produce a witness.
> If anyone asks my name was Lewis.
> Let Stuart be joined to it. He who has written this (book) is so named.]

Written at the foot of the leaf are the signatures Wm. Chalmers and Andro Hoge.[1]

This leaf is followed by 239 folios of text, of which the last 87 folios are the Historical Collections; and at the end is the one surviving leaf of an index to them covering P, Q, R, S, T, and W. There is no mention here of the poem, and the previous leaves, presumably other index pages, seem to have been removed, as a stub remains. At the top of the first page of the text is the date 20 August 1606. The newer endpapers bear a

watermark of 1702 (Churchill 1935: no. 424), indicating a later binding of the manuscript.

Transcript 34.3.11 has 298 pages with a 1654 watermark at intervals up to page 236, clearly seen on page 92 (Churchill 1935: no. 110). After page 238 the watermark changes to 1684 (Heawood 1950: no. 348); and the writing also changes here from a cursive script to the distinctive hand of Robert Mylne, the antiquary (1643?–1747), continuing thus to the end of the manuscript.

Transcript 34.3.12 has 434 pages plus an index and, except for a few pages, is all in the hand of Robert Mylne. His signature is on the title-page with a note in his older hand that after page 351 the volume contains additions from the collections of Mr Richard Hay, canon regular of St Genevieve in Paris, 'All preceiding that page being sir Lewis collectiones,' which, of course, includes the poem on pages 14–17. Mylne's note seems to confirm that the poem was in Sir Lewis's original manuscript from which he may have made his copy: he certainly did not copy from 34.3.11, for Mylne's transcript of the poem contains two lines (157, 291) which are lacking from the poem in 34.3.11. Mylne's transcript must have been completed after 1705 as there is mention on page 356 of the late Lord Whytlaw, the Court of Session judge who died that year; and page 383 has a watermark similar to Heawood no. 71, in use in 1718. Incidentally, Father Richard Hay (1661–1736), canon of St Genevieve, was cousin to one of Sir Lewis Stewart's grandsons; and in the title to his copy, all in bold letters, Mylne identifies Sir Lewis as 'great-grandfather to Lady Margaret Cuninghame Countess of Lawderdale' (m. *circa* 1680, d. 1742).

Though the order differs over the first few pages, the transcripts have the same contents, except that 34.3.12 has the Hay additions. The two copies of the poem are almost identical, with minor variations in copying and in spelling. The poem is written in double columns in rhyming couplets (with a few aberrations) and comprises 345 lines in 34.3.12; and 344 lines in 34.3.11, including one line repeated. Mylne's transcript 34.3.12 has a main index in which the poem is listed under 'Vertues and vices of persons showin from the featers of thr bodyes the tones of thr voices etc. In a Monastick Ryme'; and the poem is also listed in a short secondary index under 'Complections of men in verse'. No author is given in either of the transcripts.

Sir Lewis Stewart was an eminent advocate and a loyal adherent of Charles I, and by his arms he proclaimed his descent from Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the Wolf of Badenoch, son of Robert II of Scotland. No record has been found of Sir Lewis's ancestors beyond his grandfather, William Stewart, elder, depute clerk of Edinburgh 1560–81, though there are clues to his line of descent from Alexander Stewart. Sir Lewis's mother was Katherine Bannatyne. Her brother, George Bannatyne, made a collection of old Scottish poetry in 1568, now called *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, which contains several poems by the sixteenth-century court poet, William Stewart. William Stewart was a great-great-grandson of the Wolf of Badenoch, and there is a possibility that William was Sir Lewis Stewart's great-grandfather.[2]

Fig. 1 MS of the first page of the poem 'Complections of Men in Verse'.
(Line numbers have been added for reference. See p. 52.)

The transcript of the poem which follows was made from Advocates' MS 34.3.12. The transcript and the reproduction of a page from the manuscript appear with the permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

Omitted letters and expansions of abbreviated words are given in square brackets, except for *w*^{t} which is simply given as *with*. Two forms of ampersand appear in the poem (*e.g.* 3, 16), but both are represented here by the sign &. In the right-hand margin is a glossary of some of the words, and suggested corrections (in italics) of apparent transcription errors. To the left, line numbers have been inserted for the purpose of reference.

	The first complectioun is called flew[m]eg[?]	phlegmatic
	The tother sangui[n]e, the thrid is colerik	
	The feird & the last is called Melancholly,	
	Thir four all nature Governs all generally	
	flewmen is fatt, & slaw sweir & sliparie	lazy; sleepy
	whyt spittand ay bluntwittit, and drasie	sluggish
	sanguin is fair & fat be measur, reid & whyt	in moderation
	Luifand & larg & lachand with delyte	loving & liberal
	in blythnes ay singand and wyss hardy,	
10	It is the best complectioun soveranly	
	a crabit complectioun is colerik	
	a far mair noble is na flewmatik	than
	for it is frie, bayt[h] lairg, hardy, & stout,	
	Mair subtill wyss & mair worthy allout	
	bot small & lenyee ar they broun of face,	lean
	far mair of vndertakin, & hering[?],	
	The worst co[m]plection is melancholly,	
	for it is sour Invyous, cald & dry,	
	Gredie virtew, dreidfull & ay drowpan	*untrew*
20	& leidin hewit & full seildum lachand	
	alse of a thing I cou[n]sall the that thow	
	fra man mismaid in his person vmbethow	*umbechow*: eschew
	whilk is mankit fra members of mankynd	defective
	for co[m]monly they haue ane akwart strynd	disposition
	for wha falt bearis of his nativitie	
	in his co[n]ditioun faultles sall not be	
	bot give throw vertew him refrainyed	except if
	and throw his wit his wickit will co[n]strenyed	
	And first at mans hair thow take knawledge	
30	Gife they be young & not our te[n]der of age	
	Gife it be dosk or yallow, broun or blake	
	efter the lauee the hair is not to lake	*lave*: rest; undervalue
	Gif it be reid be war for I warn yow	
	whair ane is trew twe[n]tie is not to trow	to be trusted
	whare head & beard is hewit of sindrie wyse	
	I red thow hald thame not in thy service	
	for to begyll they are ay wonder slee	sly
	And mekill tane of slicht & sitteltie	trick

	Bot yallow is taken for guid ingyne	token; ability
40	and habill bayth to craft & clergie fyne	learning
	with ma[n]suetude of swetnes & clemens	gentleness
	and Governes be wisdome & prudence	
	that is to say with vther properties	
	As afterwart of th[a]m[e] declairit beis	
	Right roch of hair betaikins stark nature	
	and hee of blood bot langand ther figure	
	have they guid collour welfavored in visage	
	and als of guide fassioun in th[e]r corsaig	
	with guidly ferys & giftis remanend	points of appearance
50	Thow may weill hald th[a]m[e] to thyne avin servan	
	and be they ry[ch]t evill favored & vnfrie	heavy
	and in th[e]r ferys als vngodly bee	ways
	when beard & breist & brouis all overgroun	
	Ry[ch]t vnfrilie with birnand eyn th[a]t glowis	heavily
	and of the laife vngudlie of portiriture	rest; form
	That is great taikin of mervellous nature	concerned with the supernatural
	of nature horribille & vnreasonabill	
	and perallus & till all vyces able.	deadly
	I reid with sic men th[a]t thow have litill deall	
60	Na hald not in thy houshald speciall	
	A large forehead with browis semlie set	
	Nocht our fer out na mekill hair ourfreit	adorned
	with uth[e]r guid bewties endlang the face	all over
	The corpis inclynit till all guidlines	
	with blak, or gray, or broun eyn & gryte	great
	Not gogland over fair out na far inset	
	thir are guid taikins with the remanend	these
	of p[ro]perteis q[uhi]lk[i]s are after cidand	which; cited
	The eyn of q[uhi]lk[i]s the stern draws to the blew	star
70	whilk maist is liknit to the heavinlie hew	
	That is guid taikin of peace & equitie	
	of guid wit prudence & of cheritie	
	And wha hes great eyn gogland over th[e]r face	
	betaikins pryde & ire and wilfullnes	
	Invy but shame, sweir in obedience	without
	and be they wa[n]will the war is th[e]r intent	*wanwitt*: foolish; worse
	wha hes eyn rinand ay co[n]tinuallie	
	it is a full evill taikin traist trewlie	
	Bot swa sa hes reid eyn within dout	*?withoutin* [*cf* 254]
80	they shall be fundin, bald, hardie, & stout	
	and be it woman she beis dowill hardie	double
	I will not say that is in villany	
	bot eyn of twyn cullors are not guidly	
	bot are inclynit to vyce & villany	
	gif th[e]r maister followis ther p[ro]perties	
	That are inclynit to all iniquities	
	They are inclynit meikill baill to brew	harm, sorrow
	When ever ilk eyes of a sindrie hew	
	bot if virtew have domina[tio]une	
90	That prudence m[aste]r his co[m]plectioun	

	Be war with eyn whilk are of sindrie hews	
	whilks god & nature & all guid men rewis	
	with spots of whyte and reid blew blak betuein	
	when alkin hewis are sprutit in the eyn	
	ther followis misfassioun of vissage	
	and mekill mair of co[n]science and cur[a]ge	
	and aynslyk eyn oft shawis littill mude	
	and our mekill whyte waule ey wes never guid	
	and sand blind eyn are shamfull co[m]monlie	
100	and feynyeis oft for caus they are faultie	flinches, fails
	and glowrand eyn are corssand in th[e]r sycht	crossing
	are thrawin & full [of] sutteltie and sly[ch]t	perverse
	and wha sa skellis with ane eye luikand by	squints
	they are inclynit to vyces co[m]monly	
	wha stutand glowres with a sembland stout	stuttering; stubborn look
	they are not haill in harnes haif na dout	brains
	sa in ther forehead fallis a banishing	
	whilks brings them often in ramessing	rushing about wildly
	with sick a frenseis and a fantasie	
110	makis th[e]m but reddeour abill to foly	
	and wha with said other hes eyn deid and still	*with sad cheir* [34.3.11]: with sad countenance
	are reddely inclynit to vncouth ill	
	And wha lurkand eyn hes ay lachand	lowered
	till licherie are mekill inclynand	
	alse to dissave and fleche th[e]r natur is	deceive and flatter
	and make sembland that they can do na mis	
	wha winkis with his eyn and nodis als	
	it cumes them weill of kynd for to be fals	
	wha luikis on syde and haldest his heid awry	
120	and fenyeis to Make a small eyn denyouslie	pretends; condescendingly [denȝe: deign, condescend]
	they are dissembland coveit & vntrew	
	of luf and abill to dissave anew	love
	wha hes ane lenyee nois thin & weill made	fine nose
	are ly[ch]tlie breathfull of lichtlie heid	
	bot great lang nos hauk beik befor dipand	
	hee in the midis as gryffone beik rysand	
	are wicht & manfull co[m]monlie & proven	strong
	And wha hes nos in midwart law & short	low
	kepand before men may weill knaw th[e]r sort	with turned-up tip
130	they are akwart & evill willy of kynd	wily
	donsthothe crabit and angrie q[uhe]n thai are tein	*donsoth*: very truly; provoked
	To murther & to misdeid reddy are	
	and nowther will keep kyndes lawtie na far	loyalty
	and reddely will make a forfaltour	forfeiture
	bot grace & vertew brydill th[e]r nature	
	gif they be not our snak bot messurablie	too quick, greedy

vpset befor sick taking is worthie — such
weill favoured in the visage the eyn
of hyd & hair of voce & cullour cleir
140 Blythe lachand their traist th[e]r guid co[m]pany
and kynd for kynd[n]es shall be reddely
and guid fellowship they loue utter all thing — love above
curteis and kend & gentill of th[e]r spending
Gif they be narrow thirlit with speech rouff — have narrow nostrils
They are done soth of ans[we]r at Rebouff — very truthful
wha hes nos braid in the midle wart
and short befor for keepand wpperwart — tip-tilted
hes mony fals wordis of littill effect
with oth[e]r faltis foloand in the net
150 when thow servandis to the wer suld waill — to the worse should submit
do th[e]m na evill na haif with th[e]m na daill — dealing

A midlin noss whilk nother hee na law is — high nor low
whilke in a guidlie phisnomy men knawes
with uther properties as forsaid haue we
before the laif suld maist co[m]mendit be — the rest

Wha hes ane mekill mouthe & wyd & large — great
with keppand noss or hingand as ane barge
they are manfull & hardie men of praise
and of Langage and wortthie for to loue
160 Wha hes gryte lips thik & vnguidlie
ill maide vnhartfull laiche & vnlouelie — cheerless; of low fortune
are oft tyme full of foly & fulache
nather wyse na weill tacht & of vnguidlie speich — taught

Wha se sour lipit is and sharpe & thin
small in the neb & sharp als of the chin — tip of the nose
trust well they are baith narow & nedy
baith cuvetous fasthaldand and gredy
and hes a tung to set ther word sharplie
To flyt & chyde and to speik villanie — scold

170 Wha hes fatt face ill favoured & fleshy
thik & threwyllie with lumpis vnlouely
they seme to be vnhabill by natur
ffor god gives of wisdome guid figur

Wha hes a lang visage of guid ffassoun
well favoured betaikins guid perfectioun
Sa hyde & hew and hair accord them till
they suld be reasone haue a guidly will
and abill als to craft and to clergie — learning
and well inclynit to vertew co[m]monlie

180 Wha hes an visage short & fatt & suollen
and keepand noss with chekes boline — *?boldine*: rounded
with lytill hew of cullour wermelin — vermilion
orpie growis in his herbe all sessoun — orpine [a vulnerary]

Wha hes a blusit face of hevie corst — *corse* [34.3.11]: body
the sone of lichorie he mon be of first

Wha hes a visage short attour mesour — above moderation
bayth neck & bodie short of portrature
with neis and lipis liftand vp agane
To flie fra his cumpany all suld be fane — eager
190 wher nature failyeis his proportiouns — fails
ther folies oftymes evill co[n]ditiouns

And wha visage has our lang vnfree — not beautiful
Gif it evill favoured & evill cullorit be
traist weill that persone is vniurious
sutell invyous and eik malicious — also

What hes ane heid exceiding gryte and fatt
noth to his vther me[m]bers accordand that
it signifies bestiall co[n]ditioun
of carnall apetyte and vnreason

200 Wha hes ane craig vncumly lang & small — throat, neck
with lytill dottitlheid [sic] & round with all — dottit: silly
and our mekill bodie to the awennand — to ?be handsome
they are not co[m]monlie the maist e[me]n[n]and

Wha hes short neck with shoulders hie & stricht — straight
suppose the laue will fassonit be at ry[ch]t — *al ryt* [34.3.11]
he is suttell false fletchand to his lord — scolding
and of few men gude will he record

Wha hes gryte heid craig and fat body
traist well they are inclynit to licherie
210 and to glutry sleathe & vyces ma — gluttony; sloth
give they be not the tyme is passtt of they

Wha hes mekill earrys thik & syde hingand
Gryte taikin is that he is uncu[nn]and — stupid, ignorant

Wha earris hes our lytill to his stature
it is gryte taikin of sume falt of nature

And wha is of speikin gross and round
with words cleir vnwe[m]mit haill & sound — pure
he is bayt[h] bald and stout & gude langage
gude witt gude eloquens & gude knawledge
220 And wha hes a pypand voyce & small
and waik & wandand in th[e]r speich with all
that is taikin of waik curage
and bayt[h] with falt of Lawtie and langage — lack of honesty

And wha sa stutes or mantis or speik haistie — stutters or stammers
are cuvatus fast haldand and gredie
with mony wyles & suttelteis of mynd

	Invyous sturt & crabit and vnkynd	contentious
	presumteous hastie & reddy to suppryse	despise, oppress
	and layt[h] to pairtt with geir in ony wyse	money
230	Wha whylum speiks swyft and whylum sla	sometimes
	Be that a divers nature men may knaw	
	for hid faultis in mony men ar not shawin	
	whill sick men in co[n]ditiounes be well knawin	till
	Wha hes ane sleikit voce & swyft & sweit	smoothly-spoken
	and in his mouthe melt butter will not lett	
	they draw oft out of men with th[e]r langage	
	and garis th[e]m weyn that they have a guid curage	makes them believe
	as fouller when he wald his pluvars get	
	with his sweit not he draws th[e]m to the net	
240	Wha alwyse speikand is & cracland new	gossiping
	he may never failȝee of law and vertew	
	and wha sa seildin speiks & is our still	
	traist weill he hes a hyd vnworthie wyll	
	the rynand water is cleir and ky[n]dlie guide	
	and standand water is stinkand of the mude	
	Wha hes a large breist with shulders braid	
	with me[m]bers meit th[e]rfore & manly maid	
	wicht lang armes & hands fair and sture	stout; strong
	and vth[e]r me[m]bers all of guid measour	
250	That is a taikin of great scremute	swift action, skirmishing
	in deid of wer or battell for to be	
	And wha sa hes a waldin suttill bak	supple; slender
	is prydefull slee invyous leif to lak	sly; willing to vilify
	And wha lute bakit is within were	stoop-backed; without doubt
	is hudpyk hurcheoun wrocht in all maner	miser; hedgehog-like
	thin narow shalders ay hurkland & figand	always hunched up & fidgeting
	they are dispaireit of great god all weildand	governing
	and ever to want gude are in dreid & dout	seek wealth
	and weimis the wardle will faylyet tha[me] all out	*wenis* [34.3.11; also *c.f.* 237]: believes; world
260	Lang armes in taikin of largenes	liberality
	gentreis fredome with strenthe & hardines	honourable nature; geniality
	and short armes are taikin of discord	
	and narow heart evill fittand to ane lord	
	Lang armes with waldyn finger fair	supple
	till all crafts ry[ch]t wonder abill ar	
	Bot short armes with short fingers & great	
	on suttell craft shall never be seimlie set	
	And wha sa great swollin wame hes vtterly	stomach; outwards

	it is a taikin of pryde and lichourrie	
270	of Gluttoun presumptioun & arrogance	
	and bot richts of simpill Governance	only rights [itself]
	Thik braid hoches with filletis stark & sture	legs; thighs; firm; sturdy
	great brandis & weill made at measour	calves of legs
	with gudlie fassioun baythe of fute & hand	
	And weill breistit, of visage well farand	good-looking
	in hair all dosk, yallow blak or broun	
	in midlin way of co[m]positioun	
	with guidlie cheir weill favored in visage	
	myngit with reid & guid messurage	mixed
280	broun blak or gray the roundall of the ey	
	cleir voceit & haill th[a]t is a man for the	
	Wha hes fatt pudding leges vnfrielie maid	heavily
	Lous flechit with misfassionit feit & braid	loose-fleshed, flabby
	it is to traist th[a]t the remanend	
	suld not be weill whan th[a]t is misfaradd	*misfarand*: unseemly
	for after th[a]t followis co[m]monly	
	misgovernans wanwit & gryte folie	
	And lytill feit is taikin of narrownes	
	and hard of nature full of wrechitnes	
290	whilk our skant is of measo[u]r be nature	
	Les na it all to be of portratur	unless it all be [small] of form
	Wha sa in gangin hes a steadfast pace	
	ther followis oft prosperitie and grace	
	And wha sa nimlie gars & spedilie	nimbly walks
	bot gife he have a ry[ch]t great cause & why	
	and settis to do his deidis all in haist	
	they are lyke guidlie purpose for to waist	
	for they are inoportwn & of kittill will	fickle
	and oft th[e]r purpose andis not will th[?] thamee till	*comes not weill thm till* [34.3.11]
300	Wha ever be hyrt[?] of feris & cast of heid	?light of features
	and haldis not purpose steadfast in a steid	
	all men may will considder & vnderstand	
	lightness of witt is after followand	
	and when the witt is light & right cha[n]geable	
	sic men sall never be to hono[u]r abill	
	What man th[a]t kekland copes vther men	cackling copies
	and smyrkand lauchand gois but & ben	back & forth
	in kirk & mercat or in vther place	
	thow knaw be the figur of his face	
310	that of his deidis thair sall cum lytill prove	effect
	wha luifis hono[u]r sick men suld umbethow	
	What man of guidly fassioun that thow sees	
	when thow will cheis a man with all ve[r]chewis	

	is manly maid of gude portiritur	appearance
	bayt[h] guidlie & weill favored of figure	
	after the tennor of all proportioun	
	as we haif said in our discriptioun	
	weill cullourit & weill maid as effeiris	is fitting
	weill favourit in his feiris and maners	ways
320	of hyd & hair and hew & eloquence	
	with pleasant presenta[tio]une of prudence	
	weill collourit & weill fleshit as effeiris.	
	and in his visage guidlynes appears	
	and in all thing is cu[m]and and manlyke	
	and at na forsaid faultis entertryke.	that; interfere
	bot have in mynd thair vther proper teis	
	as in this book befor writtin thow sees	
	and set int by of what hair that he be	
	so doubill reid hair haue na daill with the	
330	of stadfast blyt[h]) luik haill countenance	
	in midlin way of all his Governans	
	in all proportioun als betuixt the twa	
	nather hee nor law nor fatt nor lyn alswa	tall or short
	na in his sight th[e]r be na laik to see	deficiency
	for mony a fault is knawin be the ey	
	The guidlie sweit luik co[m]mounlie is kynd	
	and soft of hyd is guid of witt & mynd	
	of mesoured speeche & stadfast in ganging	
	sic men as thir sould be about a king	
340	and guider in thy mynd thir poy[n]ts haill	gather; these
	not all to lake na all to loss and waill	undervalue; be dismissed; make a choice
	Bot haue ay guid consideratioun	
	of fforme and cullo[u]r & co[n]ditioun	
	it sall be mekill profeit and availl	
	in weir and peace in houshald or battell.	war

The tenor of the poem seems to be the poet giving personal advice ('I counsall the'; 'I red thow'; and so on: lines 21, 33, 36, 82), perhaps to a young king ('sic men as thir sould be about a king': 339). But there is no such personal touch in the source from which the poem is drawn.

The poem is derived from the *Secreta Secretorum,* which contains all manner of advice to princes, and in which the principles of physiognomy are plainly stated. The earliest known manuscript of the *Secreta,* which is in Arabic, is said to be of the tenth or eleventh century. The first translation into Scots was made from a French version by Gilbert of the Haye in 1456 (Stevenson 1914: II. l). The discourse on physiognomy, the science of judging men's characters by their external appearance, appears towards the end of the *Secreta,* but Haye's manuscript lacks this section on Complexions and we have to look elsewhere for a comparison with the unknown poem. In 1422, James Yongue translated a French version of the *Secreta* into the English of the Pale, and this version can conveniently be used for comparison with the poem (Aristotle (pseudo-) 1898: 218–236).

Throughout the Middle Ages, when the study of physiognomy came to be considered of great importance, the *Secreta* was attributed to Aristotle. But it is now classed amongst pseudepigraphic literature as pseudo-Aristotelian. Yongue's translation contains two accounts of physiognomy, the first is designated pseudo-Aristotelian, and the second, a shortened version, is called the pseudo-Polemon treatise. The poem appears to be based on the latter, though its opening lines on the Complexions are derived from the longer pseudo-Aristotelian version. (p-Polemon and p-Aristotle hereafter.)

The Four Complexions

In his description of each of the four Complexions, the unknown poet (the Poet hereafter) extracts part only from the p-Aristotle, as exemplified in his treatment of the Phlegmatic:

> flewmen is fatt, & slaw sweir & sliparie
> whyt spittand ay bluntwittit, and drasie 5–6

whereas in p-Aristotle:

> The fleumatyke by kynde he sholde be slowe, sadde, ful stille, and Slowe of answere: febill of body, lyghtly falle in palsey; be shalbe grete and fatte, he shalle haue a febill stomake, febil dygestion, and good delyueraunce. And as touchynge maneres he shal be piteuouse, chaste, and lytill desyre company of women. (p. 220, ll. 7–12)

> The flevmatike whyte and Pale . . . (p. 220, l. 28)

The Poet's descriptions of the Complexions all relate closely to lines in John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, written *c*. 1450 (which may have been Russell's own improved version of an earlier Book of Nurture). Russell was in charge of the household of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and the *Boke of Nurture* covers all aspects of household management. At one point it gives inscriptions for a set of four novelties to be presented during the course of a meal for the entertainment of the guests; and they refer to the four Complexions. The Poet's lines (5–6) on Phlegmatic are close to Russell's:

> Hic sompnolentus|piger, in sputamine multus,
> Ebes hinc sensus|pinguis, facie color albus.
> (Russell 1868: 170)

> [This person sleepy|lazy, spitting much,
> Lacking sense|fat, white-faced.]

Then in the poem,

> sanguin is fair & fat be measur, reid & whyt
> Luifand & larg & lachand with delyte
> in blythnes ay singand and wyss hardy, 7–9

which accords closely with the *Boke of Nurture* where Sanguine is

Largus, amans, hillaris, ridens, rubeique coloris,
Cantans, carnosus, satis audax, atque benignus;

(Russell 1868: 169)

[Liberal, loving, blithe, laughing, red as to colour,
Singing, fat, bold enough, and benign;]

The Poet, incidentally, does not include the further observations which are made in p-Aristotle on the digestion of a sanguine man.

On Choleric, the poem gives:

a crabit complectioun is colerik
a far mair noble is na flewmatik
for it is frie, bayt[h] lairg, hardy, & stout
Mair subtill wyss & mair worthy allout
bot small & lenyee ar they broun of face,
far mair of vndertakin, & hering[?] 11–16

which is all synonymic with words in the fuller description in p-Aristotle; and is again close to the *Boke of Nurture*:

Hirsutus, Fallax|irascens|prodigus, satis audax,
Astutus, gracilis|Siccus, croceique coloris.

(Russell 1868: 170)

[Crabbed, deceitful|angry|liberal, bold enough,
Wise, lean|hardy, yellow as to colour.]

On Melancholy, the Poet has no good word:

for it is sour Invyous, cald & dry,
Gredie virtew [*untrew*], dreidfull & ay drowpan
& leidin hewit & full seildum lachand 18–20

In p-Aristotle, Melancholy is 'colde and dry aftyr kynde of erthe' (p. 219 l. 38), and:

The Malencoly man sholde be lene of body and dry, he sholde haue good appetyde of mette, and comonely he Is a glotoun and good deliueraunce hathe of his belly. And as touchynge maneris, he sholde bene pensyfe and Slowe, and of stille wille, still and dredfull, and a smalle entremyttere. More latte Is he wourthe than a colerike man, but he holdyth longyr wreth; he is of sotille ymagynacion as of hand-werkys, And well arne wonyd the malencolik men to be Sutill werkmen. (p. 220 ll. 19–27)

The malencolike sholde be Sumwhate blake and pale. (p. 220 l. 29)

Again on Melancholy, the poem is nearer to the succinctness of the *Boke of Nurture:*

Invidus et tristis|Cupidus|dextre que tenacis,
Non expers fraudis, timidus, luteique coloris.

(Russell 1868: 170)

[Envious and dejected|greedy|of mean right hand,
Not without cheating, full of dread, pale as to colour.]

So in the case of each Complexion, the Poet extracts from p-Aristotle while his words adhere closely to the *Boke of Nurture.*

John Rolland's 'The Court of Venus'

In the prologue to his poem, *The Court of Venus*, written in the mid-sixteenth century, John Rolland describes the four Complexions in words almost identical to those of the unknown poem. It is as if he had lifted certain phrases from the Poet's work for his own use (or *vice versa*). It is perhaps appropriate to note here that in his poem, *The Seuin Seages* (The Seven Sages), written 1560, Rolland acknowledges the influence of four masters upon his work: David Lindsay, John Bellenden, William Stewart, and Bishop Durie of Galloway (Rolland 1932: 1–2).

The Court of Venus is known only from a unique printed copy of 1575 which is somewhat mutilated and is held by the British Library. (A photostat copy is in the National Library of Scotland [F6.b. 7(2)].) The 1884 Scottish Text Society version of this book gives suggestions for filling the *lacunae*. These are incorporated below into the 1575 version (as the STS version departs slightly from it).[3] New, and perhaps better, ways of filling the *lacunae* are shown at the left-hand side; they have been arrived at after careful examination of the spacing and vestigial letters in the original 1575 version and comparing that version with the unknown poem.

PHLEGMATICVS

	[F] or Flewme is fat, slaw, richt slipperie and sweir,	
[---- a]nd	[A]nd drasie, to spit can not forbeir	
	[Sanguine]ane is fat and fair with measure,	
[And reid]	[Red] and quhyte, and lufeand with plesure,	20
[Wyse, hardie]	[Joyous and] in blyithnes ay singand,	
[------ lar]	[ ]genes, and with delyte lauchand.	

CHOLERICVS

[--- ch]	[ch]olerik is crabit of nature:	
[And far m]air	[In] air nobill of valure.	
[Na Phle]	[do]gmatike: for it is hardie and fre,	25
	Subtell and wyse, stoutter and moir manlie:	
	Bot small of face, of body Lecherous,	
	Quik of Ingyne, of Lordschip couetous.	

MELANCHOLICVS

The last and worst is callit Melancoly	
Soure, sorrowfull, Inuious, cauld and dry:	30
Drowpand, dreidfull, gredie and vntrew:	
Heuie heidit, and seindill in game or glew.	

The last line can be compared with the unknown poem's

& leidin hewit & full seildum lachand. 20

P-Aristotle does not call the Melancholic heavy-headed, but says he is *Pale*—leaden-

hued as the Poet accurately describes him; and the Poet's closer adherence to p-Aristotle favours the idea that it was Rolland who lifted fragments from the Poet rather than the other way round. It may be noted that William Stewart, the poet, gives a description of Melancholy as 'The perelous poysoun, mortiferus melancolie', likening it to the envious adder and the 'dullie dragone', in his *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (1535) (Stewart 1858: ll. 672–675).

The first letter of *seindill* is ambiguous in the 1575 edition and the STS version gives it as *feindill:* but Rolland uses *seindill* for *seldom* again later (Rolland 1884: Bk. II. 156), and 'seindill in game or glew' corresponds to the Poet's 'full seildum lachand'.

Links with the pseudo-Polemon Treatise

Having dealt with the four complexions, the unknown poem proceeds to a discussion of the features of the body, almost exactly following the order of the p-Polemon treatise in a natural progression from head to feet. Sometimes the poem follows the p-Polemon closely, sometimes there is considerable divergence.

One close link between the two is the repetitive use of the phrase *who-so hath* in the p-Polemon, corresponding to *wha hes* or *wha sa hes* in the poem. It first appears in the p-Polemon in

who-so hath ful grete eyen . . . (p. 233 l. 15)

and at the corresponding point in the poem

And wha hes great eyn gogland over th[e]r face . . . 73

The last appearance of the phrase in p-Polemon is in

Whoso hath the Paas large and slow, he is wyse and wel spedynge in all his dedys, and who-so hath the Paas litill and Swyfte, he is suspeccious, of euyl will, on-myghty to werkys. (p. 235 ll. 32–35)

and similarly in the poem:

Wha sa in ganging hes a steadfast pace
ther followis oft prosperitie and grace

And wha sa nimlie gars & spedilie
bot gife he have a ry[ch]t great cause & why
and settis to do his deidis all in haist
they are lyke guidlie purpose for to waist
for they are inoportwn & of kittill will
and oft th[e]r purpose andis not will th[?] thamee till 292–9.

The Poet uses *wha* much oftener than *wha sa* as the compound relative pronoun *he who* or *whoever*. This follows Barbour's similar use of *quha* in *The Bruce* (1375):

Quha lufis his lord and his Cuntre
Turne smertly now agane with me:
(Barbour 1894: II. 72 ll. 599–600)

Only once or twice does the Poet come near to paraphrasing p-Polemon. At line 21, the Poet launches into the specifics of physiognomy, first dealing with deformity. The p-Polemon opens with some lines on the dangers of pale men (ignored by the Poet) and then discusses deformity:

> So is he to enchue, and more, that fautyth any lyme atte his byrth, or hath in othyr manere the lymes dyfformyd out of kynde: Such bene to enchue as enemys, for to wickidnesse thay bene enclynet. (p. 232 ll. 33-36)

The Poet follows this closely:

> fra man mismaid in his person vmbethow
> whilk is mankit fra members of mankynd
> for co[m]monly they haue ane akwart strynd
> for wha falt bearis of his nativitie
> in his co[n]ditioun faultles sall not be 22-26

adding his own comment,

> bot give that throw vertew him refrainyed
> and throw his wit his wickit will co[n]strenyed 27-28

(The Poet uses a similar conditional phrase in line 135, 'bot grace & vertew brydill th[e]r nature,' introducing a note of perhaps Christian optimism into a secular treatise: *cf.* 89-90.)

The other instance of near-paraphrasing is on voice characteristics. P-Polemon gives:

> Who-so hath the Voyce grete and Plesaunt and well hardyn, he is chyualerous, Plesaunt, and eloquente. (p. 234 ll. 28-29)

The poem says:

> And wha is of speikin gross and round
> with words cleir vnwe[m]mit haill & sound
> he is bayt[h] bald and stout & gude langage
> gude witt gude eloquens & gude knawledge 216-19

Typical of the diversity between the poem and p-Polemon is the passage on eyes, corresponding to lines 65-122 of the poem. P-Polemon declares:

> who-so hath ful grete eyen, he is enuyous and not shamefaste, slow and Inobedyente, and namely yf he haue Pale eyen: he that haue the eyen of meen gretnysse, blake or grey, he is of Parceuynge vndyrstondynge, courteyse and trewe; who-so hath longe eyen and straght, and the visage moch straght, Suche is malicious and felonous; who so hath eyen y-like an asse his eyen, he Is a sotte and of harde vndyrstondynge; who so hath eyen meuynge and fleynge and sharpe lokynge, he is a dysceioure, a thefe, and a giloure: he that hath rede sparkelynge eyen, his fierse and corageous: Eyen that bene whit y-freklet, or I-sprotid, or blake, or reede y-spratelid throgh the eyen, bene moste to blame amonge al otheris, and moste reprouabill; and suche a man is worst amonge al otheris. (p. 233 ll. 15-27)

The Poet uses this in his own way but his comments in lines 98-122 do not appear in p-Polemon.

Sometimes the Poet adds a few apt words of his own to emphasise a point. On the visage, p-Polemon says:

> Who-so hath the temples swollen and the chekis also, he is ful angri. (p. 234 ll. 21-22)

while the Poet expresses it with more subtlety,

> Wha hes ane visage short & fatt & suollen
> and keepand noss with chekes boline
> with lytill hew of cullour wermelin
> orpie growis in his herbe all sessoun 180-3

alluding to the agressive man who has constant need of this vulnerary!

P-Polemon states:

> A Softe spekere is a dysceyuoure (p. 234 l. 37)

The Poet expands this in proverbial terms:

> wha hes ane sleikit voce & swyft & sweit
> And in his mouthe melt butter will not lett
> they draw oft out of men with th[e]r langage
> and garis th[e]m weyn that they have a guid curage
> as fouller when he wald his pluvars get
> with his sweit not he draws th[e]m to the net. 234-9

In *The Kingis Quair* (early 15th c.), anent the seduction of a maiden, there is:

> For as the foulere quhislith in his throte
> Diuersely to counterfete the brid,
> And feynis mony a suete and strangë note
> That in the busk for his desate is hid,
> Till sche be fast lokin in his net amyd:
> (W. W. Skeat 1911: stanza 135)

Linguistic Features and Dating of the Poem

The language of the poem is sometimes archaic. Certain features indicate a range of possible dates for it.

There are several alliterative lines in the poem:

> Luifand & larg & lachand with delyte 8
> And throw his witt his wickit will co[n]strenyed 28
> Wha hes fatt face ill favoured & fleshly 170
> wha hes ane sleikit voce & swyft & sweit 234

The combination of rhyme and alliteration reached its height of popularity in Scotland by the middle of the fifteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth, the Scottish poets had forsaken its use. This suggests the poem is of the sixteenth or even fifteenth century.

In the poem the indefinite article appears predominantly as *a* before a consonant and *ane* before a vowel or *h* (as in 24 and 196). This was normal usage in the fifteenth century and earlier. Out of 36 cases in the poem there are only 7 exceptions to such usage: 6 where *ane* is used before a consonant, and one where *a* is used before *h* (123, 156, 180, 200, 234 and 263; and 243). In sixteenth-century Scottish literature *ane* came to be used in all positions.

The use of *at* for *that* in prose virtually ceased before the end of the fifteenth century, though it persisted longer in poetry. In the poem, *at* appears for *that* in line 325, which suggests the poem is not later than early sixteenth century.

In the poem *q[uhi]lk[i]s* is used (68, 69), never *the quhilkis*. The use of *quhilkis* alone does not appear till about the 1420s. The word also appears in the poem as *whilk* (70,152), possibly a modernisation by Mylne in transcription. The use of *wh* for *quh* is not consistent between MSS 34.3.12 and 34.3.11: modernisation of spelling is more evident in 34.3.11, *e.g.* 'good beauties' for 'guid bewties' (63). Such discrepancies suggest some archaisms may have been lost in transcription.

An examination of the vocabulary also helps to date the poem.

Drasie (6) is of obscure origin. The only two sources given for this word in DOST are in *The Court of Venus* (mid-sixteenth century) (Rolland 1884: Prol. ll. 17,74), the first being one of the lines perhaps lifted from the unknown poem.

Vmbethow or *Umbethow* (22, 311) is an error, probably in transcription, for *umbechow*. *Umbechow*, *umbechew*, *umbeschew*, were all used in the fifteenth century, changing form to *vmchow* or *vmshew* in the sixteenth. In 'Foly of Fulys' in *Ratis Raving etc*. (15th c.) (Girvan 1939: 65, l. 475) there is:

Quhay lovis honor suld thaim vmbeschew

which compares with the line in the poem:

wha luifs hono[u]r sick men suld umbethow 311

Na as used in the poem for *nor* (62, 66, 151, 152) was obsolescent in the sixteenth century. The poem's use of *na* for *than* (12) was obsolete from about 1550.

Waldyn and *waldin* appear in the poem (264; 252). Both forms were used in the fifteenth century, the use of *waldin* persisting into the sixteenth.

Entertryke (325) is a rare obsolete Scottish word listed in DOST as *intertrike* or *intertryik*. There are only two references given: Gavin Douglas' Scots translation of Virgil's Aeneid, made between 1501 and 1513, (1957: II. 17 l.484), for *intertrike;* and *William Stewart's Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (1535) (1858: l.59185), for *intertryik*. *Entertryking* appears in the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* in 1318 (I. 111-12).

Conclusion

While the poem is derived from the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*, following the pseudo-Polemon treatise, it is not a simple metrical translation: the Poet adds to, omits from, and expands upon the treatise. It is an independent poem, apparently mainly set down in its original language of Middle Scots.

Judging from the use of words, it could have been written in the late fifteenth, or early sixteenth, century. Perhaps another clue to its date lies in Mylne's description of it as being 'In a Monastick Rhyme'. This would indicate that he believed the poem to be appreciably earlier than the Reformation.

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NOTES

1. In MS 22.1.14, the 240 folios comprise 238 consecutively numbered folios, plus a 'missed' folio numbered 61a, plus the index page: the signed pre-page is not included in the folio numbering. There are new folio numbers at top centre of the leaves, and faint old folio numbers at the top right-hand corners. From examination of these under ultra-violet light; by using the index entries; and from the position of stubs in the manuscript, it was possible to pinpoint the missing folios: old nos. 73–79, 132, 166–170, and probably 253–255 (between, respectively, new folio nos. 71 and 72, 123 and 124, 156 and 157 (where the poem should be); and next to the index page).
2. See 'Two Stewarts of the Sixteenth Century' and 'Robert Stewart of Atholl, Son of the Wolf of Badenoch' by Joyce M. Sanderson, in *The Stewarts* XVII, No. 1 (1984): 25–46; No. 3 (1986): 136–148.
3. In the first thirty lines of the STS edition of *The Court of Venus* there are twelve departures from the 1575 edition. Some are minor changes in spelling, but line 7, 'And that throw heuinlie Constellatiounis', is omitted altogether. Some changes alter the sense:
   1575: l.17 [F]or Flewme is fat
   STS: l.16 [F]or Flewme is flat
   1575: l.23 [ch]olerik is crabit of nature
   STS: l.22 [ch]olerik is calit of nature
   W. A. Craigie in *Modern Languages Quarterly* (March 1898: 9–16) gives a long list of corrections of STS 1884 edition of *The Court of Venus*.

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Geasa and *Álög*: Magic Formulae and Perilous Quests in Gaelic and Norse

ROSEMARY POWER

In 1975 the Icelandic scholar Einar Ólafur Sveinsson published a study of a tale found in medieval Icelandic literature in the form of a poem, which he thought dated from the twelfth century, and in a later prose saga, probably of the fourteenth century.[1] The tale concerns a man who is bespelled by his stepmother to seek a certain woman, whose name he is told but not where she is to be found. In the poem his stepmother bespells him after he loses a game of tables or chess to her, while in the saga the bespelling occurs after he has rejected her advances. In the latter an elaborate formula is used for the spell, and the hero retorts by bespelling his stepmother. In both the poem and the saga the hero goes on the quest to find the lady, meets various adventures on the way, and eventually arrives at her home. After overcoming further difficulties he gains her. In the saga he then returns home, and his stepmother is punished.

Sveinsson believed that the tale was not Norse but Gaelic in origin, and that it must have passed to Iceland during the Settlement of the country between the late-ninth and eleventh centuries. It is known that at this time a number of people of Gaelic origin entered Iceland, mainly as slaves, small farmers, and wives to the Norse leaders of the Settlement, and it is not unnatural to assume that they brought tales of this kind with them.[2] The story in question appears to be unknown in mainland Scandinavia except in a single Danish ballad, while the theme of the spell imposed by a stepmother or similarly ill-disposed character, in particular after a game of chess or cards, is commonplace in Gaelic storytelling. The formula used in Iceland for the bespelling and counter-spelling is verbally very close to that used in Gaelic tales. Spells of this kind, especially those employing a set formula, are among the concepts known in Gaelic as *geasa* and in Norse as *álög*.

Sveinsson considers a number of related Icelandic tales that may have Gaelic origins, but his chief concern is with the twelfth-century poem and with the later saga. The saga, *Hjálmthés saga ok Ölvis*, is a complex work in which the story of the quest imposed by the stepmother is interwoven with subsidiary plots. The surviving version also contains interpolations; it was probably rewritten in the fourteenth century from a slightly earlier and simpler version. This earlier version seems to have been used by the author of *Hjálmthésrímur*, a saga in verse which was probably also composed in the fourteenth century (Jónsson 1905–15: II. 1–84). The older variant of the stepmother tale, the twelfth-century poem, has been printed in the collections known as the Elder Edda or

Sæmundar Edda (Bugge 1867: 338–55). It is often obscure and, since its middle section has been lost, was long thought to be two separate works, which were known respectively as *Grógaldr* and *Fjölvinnsmál*. That they were the same poem was first recognised in the middle of the last century, when a Danish ballad, *Ungen Svejdal*, was published as number 70 of the collection *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (Grundtvig 1853–1976: II. 238–54, III. 841–3). This ballad is related to both *Grógaldr* and *Fjölvinnsmál* and is apparently derived to a large extent from them. The editor also noticed that the poem, the ballad, and *Hjálmthés saga ok Ölvis* all contained a theme similar to that of the Welsh tale *Culhwch and Olwen*.[5] A closer Celtic analogue has since been found by Sveinsson: the medieval Irish tale, *The Adventures of Art Son of Conn* (Best 1907), which in its present form exists only in a fifteenth-century manuscript, but which is mentioned in a list of tales preserved in the twelfth-century *Leabhar na hUidhre*. An even earlier date of *circa* 1000 has been suggested for the list (MacCana 1980: 36,53).

In his discussion of related Icelandic works Sveinsson notes that in Iceland in addition to the use of a spell in order to send the hero on a quest for a certain woman, two other kinds of spells or curses may be imposed, again with the use of the distinctive formula. One of them sends the hero to the trolls, and the resulting tale is usually similar to that of the quest for a woman. The third kind, which is the most common in Iceland, transforms the victim. In this case the theme is international though the formula is not, and although Sveinsson believes that in some of the Icelandic versions there is evidence of Celtic influence, only the bespelling formula they contain will be considered here. The two types of quest he analyses are distinctive, because they are not international, and they are not found in medieval romance literature and are therefore unlikely to have reached Iceland through this medium. Furthermore, although it is known that a number of romances, most of them French, did reach Iceland during the thirteenth century, the age of the earliest Icelandic version, *Grógaldr/Fjölvinnsmál*, almost certainly precludes the possibility of there being some lost French original. The bespelling formula is found only in Ireland, in Gaelic Scotland, in Iceland, and in a single Faroese ballad, *Drósin á Girtlandi* (Djurhuus and Matras 1951–72: II. 108–9, no. 43), in which it is used by a stepmother to transform her stepdaughter, who in turn bespells her. Like several other Faroese ballads it may derive its subject matter from Iceland.

My aim here is to suggest that Sveinsson's arguments can be extended, and that not only the tales of a cruel stepmother who sends the hero on a quest for a certain woman, but also a number of other Icelandic tales that contain the theme of *álög* imposed by one character on another, are of Gaelic origin. Three main kinds of quest tales that appear both in Icelandic and Gaelic may be distinguished. The first concerns a hero sent on a quest to otherworld beings and corresponds to the second of Sveinsson's three types. The next is the tale of the hero sent by his stepmother to seek a certain woman—which is the subject of Sveinsson's main argument. In the third kind of tale a strange woman

places the hero under a spell to seek her. The Icelandic tales in question are sufficiently numerous to indicate that their origins are unlikely to have been in medieval European romance, as it is improbable that a large number of written European romances would have vanished without a single reference to them surviving. It will be possible, I hope, to show that the Irish and Scottish tales are native and not Norse in origin; their development, especially in their use of the formula, can be traced to some extent in Irish literary works, a number of which appear to have been composed originally before the Norse invasions of Ireland. In many ways the modern Gaelic folktales provide the closest analogues to the medieval Icelandic tales, particularly in the wording of the *geasa* formula.

The Gaelic Tales

Many Gaelic tales, both literary and oral, contain some form of *geasa*, but only the three types which are represented in Iceland will be considered here.

(1) A Gaelic example of the first type, *An Tuairisgeal Mór*, *The Great Tuairisgeal*, has been analysed in detail by J. G. McKay (McKay 1927–8; Campbell 1940: I. 504–14), and earlier by G. L. Kittredge (1903), who was particularly interested in the relations between this folktale and the medieval Latin romance *Arthur and Gorlagon* (Milne and Nutt 1904), a work preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript but believed to be older.

The version of *The Great Tuairisgeal* collected by John Francis Campbell in South Uist in the middle of the last century (Campbell 1940: I. 2–27) can be summarised as follows: One day the son of the king of Ireland is approached by a stranger on horseback who is accompanied by a woman. The stranger asks the hero to play chess with him. The hero wins the game and demands the woman as his prize. The next day he meets the same stranger, plays with him, and gains the horse as his winnings. On the third day the woman warns him that he will lose and that the stranger will put 'binding spells' on him to bring word of how the stranger's father, the Great Tuairisgeal, was put to death. He is in turn to lay 'binding spells' on the stranger to remain lying on the hillside, propped up on one elbow, until the hero returns. Everything occurs as she has said, and she sets him on his quest. After various adventures he is told the tale of a prince transformed into a wolf by his stepmother, and from this he gains the information he requires. He returns home with the head of the Great Tuairisgeal. The stranger, the son of the Great Tuairisgeal, is by now a heap of bones, but he revives as the hero recounts the story. The hero has also brought back the Great Tuairisgeal's sword which his son now demands. The hero makes as if to give it to him but instead strikes off his head. He then goes to look for his lady, who, in this version, has been carried off in the meantime. After further adventures he finds her.

Apart from the abduction of the woman and the additional adventures which result from it, this version is fairly typical of a story that is widespread in both Ireland and Gaelic Scotland.[4] The main variations that occur concern the object that the hero is sent

to acquire. Most commonly in Ireland it is 'The One True Story', or a named sword (often the 'Sword of Light'), or a combination of these two. Less commonly, the object the hero is sent to obtain might be a particular horse owned by the king of the Western (or Eastern) World; or the head of a certain bull; or *Fáinne na hÓige*, the Ring of Youth, (which can be either an actual ring or the name of a woman). With these last quests, however, there is usually no inset tale of the type found in *The Great Tuairisgeal*, where a character is transformed by his wife or stepmother into a werewolf or other animal and is then subsequently released.

(2) In the second type of tale the opponent of the hero is his stepmother, and this is the theme of the stories discussed by Sveinsson. An example is the tale *Bramble Berries in February*, again collected by Campbell (1940: I. 410–36). The hero is the son of the King of Ireland. His mother dies and his father marries again. The new queen does not at first know of the existence of her stepson. He is pointed out to her by that notorious busybody the hen-wife, who teaches the queen how to cast spells on him to make him undertake a perilous quest. She is obliged in this tale to repeat the spell twice more, as the hero returns, successful, on the first and second occasions. On the third he retaliates for her spell by binding her to stand with one foot on the palace roof and the other on the kitchen roof and to suffer various other discomforts which include being twisted and steered by the wind until he returns. She asks him to lift his curse and she will lift hers; but he refuses and goes off on his quest, which again he accomplishes successfully and in addition acquires a wife. On his return the stepmother falls from the tower and dies.

The stepmother is the archetypal villain and occurs in a wide variety of tales. In those in which the *geasa* are imposed she frequently obtains power over her stepson through gaming episodes, as in *The Great Tuairisgeal* and related tales. These gaming episodes are not found in all versions and are not really needed, since unless it is specifically stated to the contrary, a stepmother is expected to be able to command her stepson: they in fact appear to be a later addition. The punishment meted out to the stepmother here—to stand astraddle two buildings—is more common in tales containing the *geasa* theme than is the punishment given to the male stranger in *The Great Tuairisgeal*—to lie on a hillside. To stand astraddle buildings is the norm in Irish versions, where it is applied to male opponents as well as to female: in Scots ones the type of punishment tends to vary according to the sex of the villain. The stepmother or other female opponent may have crumbled away by the time of the hero's return, as does the villain in *The Great Tuairisgeal*; alternatively, she may fall down to her death when she sees him coming. In some versions he burns her remains for good measure.

The quests that the heroes are sent on are similar to those in *The Great Tuairisgeal* and related tales. The stepmother episode is also very commonly found in Irish versions of the international tale AT 313, 'The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight' (AT 1961), of which several hundred versions have been collected in Ireland.[5] In many of these a certain lady is the object of the hero's quest, and in others she is an additional acquisition. Other tales which frequently contain the *geasa* episode involving either a

stepmother or a stranger are *An Gadaí Dubh*[6] and *Madra Bán na Seacht gCos*.[7] Some versions of *Céatach* also contain the theme, as do a large number of other tales including many known simply as *Mac Ríogh Éireann* or by some similar title.[8]

The theme of the villainous female, not necessarily a stepmother, who sends the hero on an impossible-seeming quest, after playing cards, chess, or even on occasions one-to-one hurling, became so popular in Ireland that it is the subject of burlesque. In a number of tales, in most of which the hero is Fionn, a hag arrives not only with a pack of cards but so well prepared for the outcome that she carries her own steeple on her shoulder.[9]

(3) In the third type of story the hero is wandering by the shore when he sees a boat coming to land. In it is a young woman. She puts *geasa* on the hero (in many versions, after the gaming episode) to seek for her, or sometimes, more elaborately, for where she put on her shoes and socks that morning. In the oldest version, the medieval literary tale, *Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway* (Hyde 1899: 50–199),[10] it transpires that the lady has herself been put under *geasa* by her stepmother, and has to take the forms of three different animals in successive years. She visited the hero on the one day of the year in which she was in human shape. The hero and his brothers search for her, but they become embroiled in various battles and apparently forget her existence, a matter that is rectified in some, but not all, of the oral versions. The opening is also found in many versions of the folktale *Loinnir Mac Leabhair*.[11] The lady is scarcely more fortunate in this tale: except in a few (apparently truncated) versions, her whereabouts are discovered without difficulty; and after Loinnir has given help to her father, she is promptly offered to the young man, but Loinnir hands her over to his companion while he sets off to seek an equally desirable and less importunate woman of whom he has heard.

Since the hero, in this third type of tale, is put under *geasa* by a *desirable* woman to seek herself, there is never a counter-curse. Even when villainous hags or men arrive by boat in a similar manner, but with inimical intentions, the counter-curse does not, to my knowledge, occur.[12] This suggests that the version with the desirable woman is the original variant and that the villains, whether male or female, are later adaptations.

In all three types of tale the motivation is provided by *geasa*, magic spells, imposed with the use of a particular formula. This method of initiating a quest is simple and very popular and there are several hundred examples of its use in Gaelic folktales.[13]

The medieval literary examples of use of the *geasa* formula are few. A collection of them has been made by Bruford (1969: 196–7), and from this it can be seen that only brief forms of the formula have been recorded in the literary works. There are no examples of the counter-curse, but it is nevertheless clear that the general concepts of the formula and theme were well-known. The word itself, in particular in its singular form *geis*, is frequently used in early Irish literature, usually to refer to a negative concept which corresponds to the international concept, *tabu*. It can be *geis* for a king to

go to certain places or to perform certain deeds. The positive injunction laid on one person by another appears to be a later development, which is specifically Irish, or at least Celtic. In this case the observation of *geis*, or, in the plural form, *geasa*, has been regarded as a solemn obligation. With both positive and negative *geasa* the supernatural is invoked. According to *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (RIA 1913-76: Fascicule G. 56-8) the word is related to *guidid*, prays, and its meaning is given as a 'prayer or request, the refusal of which brings reproach or ill-luck'. Four main meanings are identified: *tabu* or prohibition; positive injunction or demand; something unlawful or forbidden; and a spell, an incantation. The most comprehensive collection of examples of the literary use of *geis* and *geasa* is that of John Revell Reinhard, who translates the word as 'prayer-demand' (1933: 2-3).

McKay regarded the imposition of *geasa* in the Scottish Gaelic folktales as a similarly solemn affair. The terms of *geasa* are, he notes, punctiliously observed. 'From this it is evident that the *geasan* or spells were deemed to be of a particularly binding or compelling character. Perhaps they had a religious sanction and were enforced by some magic or religious rite now lost' (Campbell 1940: I. 506). Margaret Schlauch took a similar view of the nature of the Icelandic *álög*, which, like Sveinsson, she regarded as being related to *geasa* (Schlauch 1934: 122, 125-34).

A more recent discussion of *geasa* by David Greene (1979) has concentrated on the development of the concept as a literary one, no mention having been made of it in the early Irish laws. While the negative concept may have been derived from royal tabus of the pre-literary period, he suggests that a gradual widening of its meaning took place, leading to the development of the positive concept that one individual can place *geis* (or, as it is usually known in the plural, *geasa*) on another. This development he traces to concepts of honour which are enshrined in the laws. Greene follows a discussion by T. M. Charles-Edwards (1978), who points out that for a hero to reject the advances of a presentable woman is both to expose himself to ridicule and to dishonour her. As her honour is inextricably bound up with that of her male relatives he must by extension insult them. The stories of Deirdriu and Noisiu and of Gráinne and Diarmaid are examples of the dilemma the hero may be caught in and of the ensuing tragedy. *Geis* and *geasa* are the terms used in the later literature to describe the obligation of honour a woman may put on a man, and so the concept of one person placing *geasa* on another appears (see Greene 1979: 17).

Charles-Edwards (1978) gives special consideration to the medieval Irish *Fingal Rónáin*, a tale found in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster* but which Greene regards as a work of the tenth century (Greene 1955: 2). In this tale the dilemma of Rónán's son, Mael Fhothartaig, is even greater than that of Noisiu or Diarmaid because the woman who desires him is his own stepmother. He avoids her because he fears that she will dishonour him in public; but she pursues him in private. He then reacts violently to her advances and insults her. In revenge she accuses him to her husband, his own father; and as a result Mael Fhothartaig is slain.

The importance of honour in the relations between men and women, and of the honour of the women's male relatives, is obvious in these tales. According to Greene these are the considerations which underlie the themes containing the positive *geasa*, and he believes that the invocation of the supernatural developed later when the considerations of honour had been forgotten.

However, not only presentable women but also hags and male villains impose *geasa*. In tales in which these characters appear the gaming episode often provides the means by which they gain power over the hero. It seems likely that these gaming episodes were originally quite separate from the *geasa* theme, at least in as far as that theme concerned female honour. Playing games in order to place a forfeit on the loser rather than in order to win agreed stakes is itself a motif in Gaelic tradition. Certainly considerations of honour are again involved, but they are not primarily of a sexual nature. In the earliest known version of the gaming episode, in *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Bergin and Best 1938: 174–83), a woman is present at a game between two men: her husband Eochaid, and an apparent stranger who turns out to have been a previous husband of hers. The stranger asks Eochaid to play with him, and he agrees. Eochaid wins the first two games, but loses the third; and the stranger names Ētaín as the forfeit. She has not made any advances to him or by any other means put him under the obligations of honour described by Greene; nor are there any supernatural connotations to the game of forfeits played by the two men, or any invocation of *geasa*. Even in a folktale like *The Great Tuairisgeal* where *geasa* are invoked, a woman is commonly among the hero's winnings in the gaming episodes but there is no indication that her honour is in any way at stake. It appears that the theme of gaming for forfeits became attached to the *geasa* theme at some stage in its development—probably at a time when the concepts concerning the woman's honour were growing weaker, and the *geasa* formula was coming to be associated with characters other than attractive women.

The Adventures of Art may represent a transitional stage in the development of the theme, for it contains the gaming episodes which lead to the imposition of *geasa*, but it also contains, albeit in muted form, the older Phædra motif—the attempt by the stepmother to seduce her stepson. A development has occurred in the use of the motif—the stepmother who cannot have the hero for herself sends him to seek a woman who is seemingly unobtainable. This averts the tragedy usually associated with the Phædra motif as there is no need to accuse the hero falsely to his father: the quest which is likely to result in his death (but of course does not) has taken its place.

In *The Adventures of Art* a woman of the *sídhe*, Bécuma, comes to Ireland, having been banished by her own people for adultery. She is seeking Art, with whom she has fallen in love through hearing of him. But she first meets his father, Conn, who makes an oblique proposal of marriage to her. This may have been regarded originally as sufficient to compromise her honour, for she accepts him. At no stage does she make advances to Art—indeed on accepting Conn she insists that he banishes his son for a year. At a later stage in the tale she plays chess with Art. She loses the first game, and is

sent by him to acquire a magic wand (which has no further relevance in the tale). She plays a second game, wins, and using a brief version of the *geasa* formula says.

> '. . . thou shalt not eat food in Ireland until thou bring with thee Delbchaem, the daughter of Morgan.'
> 'Where is she?' said Art.
> 'In an isle amid the sea, and that is all the information that thou wilt get.'
> (Best 1907: 163-5)

As it will be seen, the Icelandic *Hjálmthés saga* (Jónsson 1950: IV. 177-243) appears to represent a slightly earlier stage in the transition, in which the slighting of the stepmother and the insult to her honour retain more significance, although the revenge taken is the same—the imposition of the quest for the seemingly unobtainable woman.

The Icelandic Tales

We may now turn to examine the three kinds of tale found in Iceland which contain the theme of the quest imposed by *geasa*.

(1) We shall start with the kind that appears to have been the latest to develop—that represented in Gaelic by *The Great Tuairisgeal* and similar tales in which the opponent is not necessarily the stepmother. *Vilhjálms saga sjóds*, *Thorsteinn Karlsson and the twelve hags*, and *Ála flekks saga*, are all Icelandic tales of this type. *Vilhjálms saga sjóds* (Loth IV: 1-136) was probably composed in the early fourteenth century. It comprises two distinct stories that have been threaded together (but only the first of them is relevant here). The saga opens with a series of four episodes, in each of which a game of chess is played (*op. cit*: 6-25). The first game is between a king and a strange woman who arrives in his kingdom one day, accompanied by a giant. This serves to initiate the action. Some time later the king disappears in mysterious circumstances, and after another two years have passed the king's son, Vilhjálmr, meets the same giant who asks him to play chess with him. Vilhjálmr wins and demands a full set of armour. The giant arrives on the date Vilhjálmr appointed and gives him the armour, and also a sword. The two play again and Vilhjálmr wins a horse with its trappings and the knowledge that his father is still alive. They play on a third occasion, but this time the giant brings with him a beautiful woman, who he says is his daughter. Vilhjálmr is distracted by her presence and he loses. He is sent to find the giant at the den of ninety trolls, whose whereabouts he does not know, but whose names he is to recite on his arrival; he must also take with him a ring which his father had won in his game with the strange woman and which the giant has been eager to recover ever since.

In this story, as in *The Great Tuairisgeal*, the hero acquires a horse and a sword as a result of successive chess games. He does not win a woman, but it is significant that a woman appears in the giant's company, though in the saga she is not a help but a distraction to the hero, and in true Norse fashion changes into a troll once her part has been played. The hero is sent on a quest to trolls, who are similar to the giants of the

Gaelic tales; he is also told to return a ring—a reversal of the Gaelic variant in which he is to obtain the Ring of Youth; and his quest includes a search for information, not, as in the Gaelic tales, for information about the father of the character who has sent him on the quest, but about Vilhjálmr's own father—whom he eventually meets at the destination, a captive in the giant's den. More than one Gaelic variant appears to be represented here. The hero does not impose a counter-curse on his opponent to remain in the same place until his return; instead it transpires that the opponent is one of the ninety trolls, all of whom Vilhjálmr slays when he reaches his destination.

The successive chess or board-games are only found in one single Icelandic folktale, *Thorsteinn Karlsson and the twelve hags* (text in Árnason 1954–61: V. 149–51; German summary in Sveinsson 1929: 70–1), which also has other affinities to *The Great Tuairisgeal*. The hero, Thorsteinn, plays a board game on three *consecutive* days, as in the Gaelic tales. Thorsteinn is a reluctant player, but he twice defeats his opponent, a strange woman who lives in an elf-mound. He does not demand any winnings. On the third day the woman pushes the board away from them before the game is finished, and imposes the *álög* on him. The hero replies with a counter-curse, and refuses to lift it when she suggests that they each free the other. He receives advice from his step-mother—a character who is frequently amicable in Icelandic folktales.[14] The quest the hero is sent on is to the woman's twelve sisters, who are trolls, and the remainder of the story is a version of the international folktale AT302, 'The Ogre's (Devil's) Heart in the Egg', versions of which are common in Gaelic and often have the gaming introduction.

One other saga shows certain similarities to *The Great Tuairisgeal* although the gaming episode is absent. This is *Ála flekks saga* (Lagerholm 1927: 84–120), a work probably of the fourteenth century, in which the hero, Áli, is put under *álög* no fewer than four times, each time by a member of the same family. On the first occasion a hag sends him to another hag, her sister Nótt (Night). He arrives at her home, escapes from it and sets out on further adventures. On the second occasion he is transformed into a werewolf, on his wedding night, by the brother of the two hags. On each of these occasions he imposes a counter-curse—the first hag is put in a cave with a fire beneath her, and her brother is condemned to sit on a chest shrieking and to be hanged when Áli is released. Not surprisingly, when Nótt imposes *álög* she does so while Áli is asleep and cannot defend himself. She beats him and causes him to remain ill until he can get another brother of hers to cure him. The brother is finally found and cures Áli willingly but is shortly afterwards slain by his patient. In dying, he puts Áli under *álög* to search for another member of his family, his half-human niece, who has previously assisted Áli.

This tale, though it is motivated by *álög* and concerns various members of the same family, has only general similarities to the Gaelic tales in question—with one exception: it contains an inset tale concerning a man who is transformed into a wolf. While most of the Icelandic quest tales with the *álög* theme also contain characters who have been transformed in some manner, it is not common to find the werewolf motif in Iceland:

elsewhere in medieval Icelandic literature it is found only in *Jóns saga leikara*, which contains an evil stepmother but has no other resemblances to *The Great Tuairisgeal*. The werewolf tale is known in other parts of Europe as an independent tale, and it is possible that it came to Iceland through the medium of romance literature. However neither the version in *Ála flekks saga* nor that in *Jóns saga leikara* is particularly close to any of the mainland European versions, so the suggestion cannot be discounted that it came to Iceland in combination with the theme of the quest imposed by *geasa*, and that the two themes have survived together in *Ála flekks saga*, a work in which a number of other elements of possible Gaelic origins have been noted (see Lagerholm 1927: lvii–lxvii).[15]

(2) The second kind of tale to be examined —which concerns the quest imposed by the stepmother—is represented in Iceland more clearly than the first. In the oldest version of it (*Grógaldr/Fjölvinnsmál*), we get very few details of the relations between the hero, Svipdagr, and his stepmother: she is 'the lascivious woman/who embraced [his] father' (stanza 3)—this may, but need not, imply a knowledge of the Phædra motif. The hero's quest is the result of a board-game with her, as in many of the Gaelic tales in which there is no suggestion of the Phædra motif. She sends him to seek the woman Menglöd, whose whereabouts none know. There is apparently no counter-curse. The audience knows these details because they are recounted by the hero to his dead mother, whom he has woken up in her grave in order to seek her help. She gives this by reciting charms to protect him on his journey. After the *lacuna* between the *Grógaldr* and *Fjölvinnsmál* parts of the poem we find Svipdagr at the castle of Menglöd. After an exchange of riddles with the doorkeeper, he gives his correct name; it transpires that he is expected, and he is made welcome. No details are given as to whether the stepmother is punished. Sveinsson (1975b: 313) suggested similarities between the protective spells woven by the dead mother in the Icelandic poem and the adventures actually undergone by the hero in the Irish *Adventures of Art*; he also noted that the dwelling of the lady in both stories was apparently described in similar terms; and, further, that the Icelandic poem resembles the Welsh poem *Culhwch and Olwen* in that, on reaching his destination, the hero finds that he is expected (Sveinsson 1975b: 317). The latter is also a commonplace in Gaelic and Scots folktales and later Irish romances.

In the Danish ballad, *Ungen Svejdal* (mentioned earlier), in place of the board-game the action begins with a ball-game during which the hero throws the ball so that it lands on the lap of the stepmother as she is sitting in her bower. This provokes her to enchant him; again there is no counter-curse. This incident is obviously not derived from *Grógaldr/Fjölvinnsmál*, at least in its extant form, but it has parallels in certain Gaelic tales.[16] (A similar incident is found in another Icelandic saga, *Hálfdánar saga Eysteinssonar*, which will be considered later.) In *Ungen Svejdal* the woman the hero is sent to seek is herself under enchantment, and when he finally arrives at her land he is

told that only Ungen Svejdal can release her, because she is yearning for him—a theme which shows a correspondence to the manner in which Svipdagr, in the Icelandic poem, is expected. Again as in the Icelandic poem, before leaving on his quest Ungen Svejdal seeks help from his dead mother: she provides him with a series of gifts—which bear some relation to the spells woven in *Grógaldr*. Svejdal finds his lady and releases her, and himself, from enchantment.

A verbal insult is sufficient to incite the stepmother to revenge in *Hjálmthésrímur* (Jónsson 1905–15: II. 1–84), the Icelandic verse-saga derived from an earlier and lost version of *Hjálmthés saga*. A verbal insult is again sufficient in the Faroese *Drósin á Girtlandi*, in which the stepmother retaliates by transforming her victim. However, in *Hjálmthés saga* itself the Phædra motif provides the motivation. The stepmother, Lúda, arrives mysteriously in an open boat, as does the stepmother in *The Adventures of Art*. Lúda has a plausible story, and soon manages to marry the recently bereaved king, Hjálmthér's father. As in very many Gaelic folktales, Lúda does not initially know of the existence of her stepson: Hjálmthér is living in a castle in the forest. Once she has discovered his existence and whereabouts, she seeks him out. For some reason totally inexplicable in terms of the saga but quite acceptable in terms of the Irish analogues, the two are left alone by Hjálmthér's retainers and Lúda can make her advances to her stepson in private. She is of course repudiated violently, and, like the stepmother in *Fingal Rónáin*, though she has been insulted in private she seeks public revenge; however, instead of accusing the hero to his father she seeks revenge through the imposition of *álög*.

The choice of revenge by imposing *álög* rather than by accusing the hero to his father is particularly significant in Iceland, where in most other types of tale it would be normal to expect the female character to play a part more passive than that of the male counterpart. However, in nearly all the Icelandic stepmother tales of this kind, as in most Gaelic folktales, the king's part in the story is complete on his marriage and he has no further part to play. (The main exception in Iceland is *Hrólfs saga kraka* in which the Phædra motif is used, but again in conjunction with the *álög* theme, which in this case results in transformation of the hero. The stepmother approaches her stepson Björn while his father is absent, but Björn repudiates her, so she transforms him into a bear who ravages his father's land. When the father comes home the queen does not accuse the son, nor does she tell the king that the bear is his son, but she incites him to slay it; thus the king is responsible for his son's death, albeit unwittingly.)

When the stepmother actually imposes the *álög* in *Hjálmthés saga* the similarities to the Gaelic tales become very clear—similarities not to the the tales in medieval literary works which contain only very brief versions of the *geasa* formula, but to the oral tales collected in Ireland and Gaelic Scotland during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Reidar Christiansen (1959: 17–18) gives the following examples of *geasa* from Ireland:

> 'I put you' [the stepmother] said, 'under *geasa* and under the affliction of years not to sleep a second night in the same bed, and not to eat a third piece of bread at the same table, until you bring me the head of the Brown Bull of the Western World.'

And as a counter-spell:

> '. . . I request the command according to my bargain, that the queen shall stand on the highest tower of the palace until we come back, or she finds out that we are certainly dead, with nothing but a sheaf of corn for her food and cold water for her drink, if it should be for seven years and longer.'[17]

Similar formulae are found again and again in the folktales, though in Scotland frequently in a more elaborate form. The essential elements are that the hero is not to sleep two nights in one bed or eat two meals from one table until he achieves his quest, while the stepmother is to stand in a high place, more often than not spread-eagled, sometimes between two buildings, with scarcely anything to eat or drink until the hero's return. The stepmother may then suggest that they each lift their curse, but the hero always refuses.

In *Hjálmthés saga*, Lúda says:

> 'I lay it on you that you shall nowhere have peace, neither night nor day, until you see Hervör, the daughter of Hundingr . . .'
>
> He retorts:
>
> 'You shall lay no more on me for your mouth shall stand open, for I think it of no worth to yearn for a king's daughter. There are two high crags standing down by the ship berths. There you shall stand with one foot on each crag, and four of my father's thralls shall kindle a fire beneath you, and on nothing shall you live but what the ravens bring you until I return.'[18]

In *Hjálmthésrímur* the stepmother then suggests the lifting of both curses, but this is, of course, rejected.

In *Hjálmthés saga*, as in the Faroese *Drósin á Girtlandi*, the stepmother's place of punishment is the shore, not a building or buildings as is customary in the Gaelic tales, while in *Thorsteinn Karlsson* she is again condemned to stand straddling natural features, in this case her own elfmound and a mountain. The setting may have been changed to natural features owing to a scarcity of suitable buildings for the stepmother to stand on in Iceland and the Faroes; but in *Illuga saga Grídarfostra* (Jónsson 1954: III. 422), it reverts to buildings. A princess, Grídr, and her daughter are put under *álög* by Grídr's stepmother, Grímhildr: Grídr is to become a troll and the daughter is to live with her. The daughter retaliates, by saying:

> 'I would like, Grímhildr, to pay you for your *álög*, and I declare that with one foot you stand on this bower, and with the other on the king's palace. Thralls shall kindle a fire right between your feet. That fire shall burn both night and day, and below you shall be all burnt by the fire and above you shall freeze, so that you never have peace. But if we, mother and daughter, come free of the *álög*, then you shall die and fall down into the fire.'[19]

In addition to the torments imposed on the villain in the Gaelic tales, two more are to be found in the Norse. One is that she, or he, is to be left with an open mouth. This occurs in *Illuga saga*, in *Ála flekks saga* and in a slightly later romance saga, *Sigrgards saga frækna* (Loth V: 39–107), in which a villainous queen transforms her three step-

daughters (p. 48). The open mouth is not an uncommon Norse motif: dying villains sometimes have their mouths forced open to prevent them speaking and cursing their slayers. The other additional torment is the fire between the villainous woman's legs. This is found in *Hjálmthés saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Illuga saga* and the folktale, *Thorsteinn Karlsson*. This is appropriate as a punishment only in *Hjálmthés saga* in which the stepmother is lascivious, but it appears to have become part of the formula in Iceland and this would account for its use in other tales. It may possibly be derived from medieval vision literature describing the punishments of the damned.

In Icelandic folktales a stepmother may be a benevolent character but in most of the medieval literary tales no sympathy is shown for her; she is merely a stock villain. Only very rarely is there any hint of the underlying tensions on which the theme must be based. Her stepsons will take precedence over her own sons, at least by virtue of being older and therefore more powerful. Any desire on her part to marry the heir to avoid being one day dependent on his goodwill, or ousted by his wife, is given no consideration. In the case of a daughter whom the stepmother has ousted in status and position a direct struggle for power is to be expected and this is hinted at in *Sigrgards saga frækna*.

To return to *Hjálmthés saga*, the quest resulting from the imposition of *álög* shows a general correspondence to the Gaelic folktales; and when the destination is reached by the hero, there are some direct correspondences to *The Adventures of Art*. In each tale the lady to be won has a parent with a name derived from the word dog—in Icelandic the father is named Hundingr, from *hundr*, dog, and in Irish the mother is named Coinchend, Dog-Head. In the literature of both countries the name in question occurs elsewhere, and in respect of each tale it has been suggested independently that the name derives ultimately from the mysterious race, the Cynocephali of Isidore of Seville. While the occurrence of such similar names in both stories could be coincidental, it is also possible that it provides a further link between the two.[20] Moreover, in the Irish tale Coinchend is fated to die at the marriage of her daughter, while in *Hjálmthés saga* Hundingr is actually slain during the escape of the heroes and Hervör, and Hervör herself takes a part in his slaying.

Art is obliged to fight Delbchaem's relatives in order to win her; but Hjálmthér and his companions stay a winter at the court of Hervör's father, and during this period they are required to perform certain impossible-seeming tasks which Hjálmthér's magic helper Hördr ensures are done. They then escape with Hervör at a time during which, she has told them, her father will sleep for three days. She accompanies them, but Hundingr's sleep is not sufficiently deep for he pursues them as they journey across the sea and attacks them, in the form of a whale. Hördr, with the assistance of Hervör, defeats him and they continue to a land to which Hördr directs them. Here Hjálmthér and his foster-brother Ölvir leave Hervör and accompany Hördr on a journey. It transpires that Hördr and his two sisters have themselves been under enchantment; they are now released, and Hördr discloses that he himself is a king's son and not a slave as he

appeared to be. The terms of Hjálmthér's enchantment were that he was to yearn for Hervör until he saw her; we may presume that he did so no longer than was required because she now marries Hördr (who actually won her), while Hjálmthér and Ölvir marry Hördr's two sisters. It even turns out that Hördr and his sisters were victims of Hjálmthér's own stepmother.

These episodes may largely be accounted for when the saga is compared with Gaelic versions of the international tale-type AT 313, 'The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight', which often open with gaming and *geasa* episodes. In tales of this type the hero is employed by the woman's father and is told to perform certain impossible-seeming tasks, with which the woman gives him magical assistance. When these are completed the two flee together, and the woman uses her knowledge of magic to provide means by which her father is hindered in his pursuit of the couple. The two lovers usually part company for some reason once they have evaded the father, and the hero forgets about the heroine and only recognises her again as he is about to be married to another woman. This confusion, in the folktale, over the bride may have occasioned the change-over at the end of *Hjálmthés saga* when Hervör marries Hördr.

In *The Adventures of Art* the hero returns with Delbchaem to his own land, and his stepmother is driven away. In *Hjálmthés saga*, as in the Gaelic folktales containing the *geasa* formula, she dies on the hero's successful return: in the Gaelic folktales she falls to her death from her tower (unless she has crumbled into dust before he returns), while in the saga she falls into the fire between her legs and dies.

(3) The third kind of tale under consideration is that in which the lady herself puts the hero under *geasa* or *álög* to search for her. In Icelandic literature marriageable women, with the exception of a few who are warriors, are rarely permitted actually to initiate action as opposed to merely inciting their menfolk. It is therefore no surprise that the third theme occurs in only one saga, *Hálfdánar saga Eysteinssonar*, a work probably of the late thirteenth century (Schröder 1917).

The opening episodes of the saga are in fact closer to the medieval Welsh tale *Culhwch and Olwen*, in which the stepmother imposes *geasa* on the hero, than they are to the Gaelic tales already outlined. As in *Hjálmthés saga*, *Hálfdánar saga* opens with a bereaved king, but unlike Hjálmthér's father who mopes until the arrival of the new queen, Hálfdán's father goes to war to cure his grief. He slays a neighbouring king and forcibly marries his wife, as does the king in *Culhwch and Olwen*. The similarities become even closer, for, once the queen in the Welsh tale has discovered the existence of her stepson, she has him brought to court and suggests to him that he marry her daughter; while in *Hálfdánar saga* the woman the hero seeks and finally marries is his stepmother's daughter. While the suggestion made in the Welsh tale is a very rational one it is unusual since the practice in real life was probably subject to canonical objection (see Charles-Edwards 1980: 31). When Culhwch rejects his stepmother's offer she tells

him that he will have no other wife than Olwen, daughter of Ysbaddaden Chief Giant (Jones 1949: 96). He falls in love with her on hearing of her, and so we may assume that he yearns for her until he wins her. Like Coinchend in *The Adventures of Art* Ysbaddaden is fated to die at his daughter's marriage. The stepmother is not referred to again.

In *Hálfdánar saga* the queen falls in love with her new husband and is actually on good terms with her stepson Hálfdán. But her daughter Ingibjörg and Ingibjörg's foster-father arrive at court in disguise, and one day during a ball-game the foster-father throws the ball so that it rolls under the queen's chair. Ingibjörg seeks it and whispers a few words to the queen. That night the queen leaves unlocked the chamber where she and the king sleep and the foster-father slays the king. The same night, Hálfdán comes across Ingibjörg asleep. She has taken off the gloves she usually wears and Hálfdán sees the most beautiful hand he has ever seen and on it a gold ring. He falls asleep and awakes to find her looking at him. She tells him: 'For this hand, ring and glove you will search and yearn, and never find peace until the one who now takes it from you lays it as willingly in your hand again.'[21] She then leaves him. In the morning he discovers that his father has been slain that night, and the quest he goes on is ostensibly for his father's slayer, Ingibjörg's foster-father, but it is clear that under the terms of the *álög* he is searching for Ingibjörg. He in fact arrives at their castle at the critical stage in a battle between the foster-father and certain supernatural enemies. He is reconciled with Ingibjörg and she sends him off to help her foster-father. This has a parallel in the Irish folktale *Loinnir Mac Leabhair*, where the woman gives no explanation when she puts *geasa* on the hero but it transpires when he reaches her land that she requires his aid for her father, who has supernatural enemies. The search by Hálfdán for Ingibjörg's hand, ring and glove has some resemblance to the search of the hero under *geasa* in many versions of *Loinnir Mac Leabhair* for where the heroine put on her shoes and socks that morning.[22]

Conclusion

The tales containing the theme of *geasa* or *álög* are so similar that it must be assumed they are related. From this assumption certain conclusions may be drawn. First, it was the opinion of Sveinsson, who examined only one of the three groups in question, that the tales were Gaelic, not Norse, in origin. The distribution itself strongly indicates that the tales are not native to Scandinavia, while Greene's analysis of the development of the *geasa* theme in early Irish literature indicates that the theme is native to Ireland. Further support is given to Sveinsson's arguments, since not one but three groups of tales containing variants of the *geasa* theme may be distinguished in Iceland, each of which corresponds to variants found in Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, where they appear to have developed from the same pool of tradition.

Secondly, the Icelandic versions of the theme can to some extent be used to date the stages of development of the Gaelic literary and oral tales. We have seen that the earliest

of the written Icelandic versions may date from the twelfth century, while the others were probably composed no earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century. However, the stories must have been in Iceland in oral form for some considerable time before they were used in the prose works, for a certain redistribution of incidents between the three main themes has occurred, and the stories have been adapted to the Norse social and physical setting, and have acquired some additions. While there is some possibility that they reached Iceland early in the post-Viking period, at a time when some contact remained with the Gaelic world, it is much more probable that they arrived there during the Viking Age, the period of the greatest contact. It may be assumed that quite a large number of Gaelic oral tales arrived—if we are to account for the degree of variation found in Iceland in these stories.

If the tales reached Iceland during the Viking Age the Icelandic tales must indicate the stage of development which the Gaelic tales had reached at this time. While the Irish literary tales discussed in the context of the *geasa* theme may be known only from manuscripts that post-date the Viking Age, it can be assumed in many cases that the stories were originally composed in the pre-Viking or Viking period. The origins of the theme, according to Greene, were the concepts of sexual honour invoked by a woman who declares her interest in the hero. When these concepts were lost the supernatural element was added to the invocation of *geasa*. It appears that at the same time the theme of gaming for forfeits was also added to the *geasa* theme, and as a result the character who imposed the *geasa* was no longer required to be a woman with a sexual interest in the hero. Furthermore, once the theme of the hero rejecting the woman's advances ceased to be central to the story, or, indeed to be present at all, there was no need for direct revenge to be taken by the opponent—instead she (or he) could put the hero under *geasa* to undertake an impossible-seeming quest.

The three kinds of tale discussed here all show different ways in which the theme was used. The third kind, in which the presentable woman imposes the *geasa* on the hero to search for herself, and the second kind, which seems to have developed from the use of the Phædra motif, are perhaps more archaic than the first kind, where the opponent is a male stranger whose motive for sending the hero on his quest is neither desire for him nor even necessarily revenge.

All three kinds of tale, though known from modern Gaelic oral tradition, appear to have been in circulation in the Viking Age as they have been preserved in Iceland. This is borne out by the actual wording of the *geasa* or *álög* formula: the forms used in the Icelandic tales are closest, not to the wording found in the Irish literary versions, but to that used in the modern Gaelic oral tales. This formula therefore must also have been in circulation during the Viking Age, and have been used in oral tales not unlike those which survive in Gaelic tradition. In contrast, the tales in the Irish literary accounts, and the forms of the *geasa* formula used there, appear archaic. The stage to which the *geasa* theme had already evolved by the end of the Viking Age is thus reflected in these Icelandic tales.

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NOTES

1 The complete study is 1975b. Reference will be made here to 1975a, a shorter version in English. Sveinsson refers in these two articles to earlier work on the subject by himself and others. Particularly important are the discussions by Lagerholm (1927: lvii-lxvii) and Christiansen (1959: 17-20, 226). Sveinsson (1929: xxviii-xxxiii, 70-8) discusses and summarises the relevant Icelandic folktales, which he classifies as AT556B.

2 The degree of Gaelic (*i.e.* Irish and Scottish) influence on the literature of medieval Iceland has been disputed. The arguments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are summarised by Theodore M. Andersson in *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins* (New Haven and London 1964) pp. 56-61. A survey of later work on the subject and a discussion of some of the areas in which literary and other relations may be found is by Michael Chesnutt in 'An Unsolved Problem in Old Norse-Icelandic Literary History', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* I (1968): 122-37. See too J. H. Delargy (Séamus Ó Duilearga) *The Gaelic Story-teller* (London 1945. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* pp. 37-43.)

3 The first editor of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Grundtvig, noted the similarities between the openings of the ballad, *Grógaldr*, and of *Culhwch and Olwen*; and Sophus Bugge in an appendix to *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (Grundtvig 1853-1976: II. 667-73) noted the relationship to *Fjölvinnsmál*. The ballad is classed as Type A45 in *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad*, by Bengt R. Jonsson and others, Skrifter utgivna av Svenskt Visarkiv 5 (Stockholm/Oslo/Bergen/Tromsø 1978), where references to the Swedish and Norwegian versions are given.

4 Other versions include one published by Mackay (1927-8: 14-51); those listed by Mackay (*op. cit*: 7-13); *Folk and Hero Tales*, edited by D. MacInnes, Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition II (London 1890), pp. 94-125; K. C. Craig, *Sgialachdan Dhunnchaidh* (Glasgow [n.d.]; tales collected 1944) pp. 59-72; [J. G. Campbell,] 'Mar a chaidh an Tuairisgeul Mor a chur gu Bàs', *Scottish Celtic Review* I (1881): 61-77; II: 140-1. See too Alfred Nutt, 'Notes on the Tuairisgeul Mòr', *Scottish Celtic Review* II: 137-40. (All four volumes of the *Scottish Celtic Review* were later bound together in one. Title page: Glasgow 1885.) Irish versions include: Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* (London 1866) pp. 255-71 [a translation]; William Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances* (London 1893) pp. 10-30, 252-3 [a translation of a compilation from two informants, used and summarised by Kittredge (1903)]; *Béaloideas* I (1928): 97-106, 276-82; II (1930): 35-46; IV (1934): 155-63, 321-30; V (1935): 293-303; XI (1941): 6-11.

5 References to Irish versions are under Type AT 313 in Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen 1963. See Reidar Th. Christiansen, 'A Gaelic Fairytale in Norway', *Béaloideas* I (1928): 107-14. Occasionally the lady-to-be-sought, rather than the stepmother, puts the *geasa* on the hero—see *Béaloideas* 29 (1961 [1963]): 1-7. Scottish, including Gaelic, versions of AT 313 have been discussed by Hamish Henderson in 'The Green Man of Knowledge', *Scottish Studies* II (1955): 47-85.

6 See Myles Dillon's 'An gadaí dubh: the black thief' in *Tire shrinker to dragster*, Texas Folklore Society Publications 34 (Austin, Texas 1968), pp. 103-16; and *Béaloideas* IV (1934): 182-90; VII (1937): 238-43; X (1940): 152-60 and 200-1. The last example is from *The Royal Hibernian Tales*, a chapbook in English published before 1825. *An Gadaí Dubh*, 'The Black Thief', is sometimes part of Irish versions of AT953, 'The Old Robber Relates Three Adventures', of which 211 versions are listed in Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen 1963.

7 Summarised in Ó Súilleabháin 1942: 605-6 (number 22). It is mentioned by Bruford (1969: 64, 155, 243-4).

8 Summaries of the relevant tales are in Ó Súilleabháin 1942: 594 (number 23—*Céatach*); 602 (numbers 10 and 11); 603 (number 15); see too 590-1 (number 7) and 601 (number 9). Some of these, and other relevant tales are referred to by Bruford (1969: Index, *s.v. geasa*).

9 Several of these have been catalogued under Type AT556B, for which there are only references for Ireland and Iceland. See Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen 1963. There is no burlesque of the theme in Iceland.

10 The folktale, which is usually known as *Cod, Cead agus Mí-Chead*, is summarised by Ó Súilleabháin (1942: 593 number 21). Printed versions include *Béaloideas* III (1932): 381–7, 397–8; and Mac Giollarnáth (1936: 120–46). There is a discussion in Bruford 1969: 72, 79–84.

11 Summarised by Ó Súilleabháin (1942: 604, number 18) and Bruford (*Béaloideas* XXI (1963 [1965]): 18). Printed versions include Mac Giollarnáth 1936: 1–36, and *Béaloideas* IX (1939): 116–24, 131–2. Some twenty-five versions in Irish have been collected. The story does not appear to have been known in Scotland.

The woman is particularly unfortunate in the related *Tóruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus* (edited by Cecile O'Rahilly, Irish Texts Society 24 [London [1922] 1924] pp. 4–15). She arrives in a boat and declares herself to be a princess in flight from a giant. She asks Cúchulainn for aid, but at that moment the giant arrives, kicks Cúchulainn and carries her off. A negative *geis* of Cúchulainn's has here been violated—that a combatant should leave him without his retaliating—so he sets off in pursuit.

12 A hag arrives in a boat, in 'Fionn agus Inghean Rí na Gréige' (*Béaloideas* I [1927]: 97–106). She loses the first game she plays with Fionn and he loses the second. She places him under *geasa* to be her husband for seven years. A man arrives in a boat, in 'Art, King of Leinster' (*Folktales of Ireland*, edited and translated by Sean O'Sullivan [London 1966] pp. 97–117, 266; see especially 107–8). This tale from Kerry is a version of *The Great Tuairisgeal* but the opening episodes show a number of correspondences to *The Adventures of Art*, though the *geasa* theme is not used in this context.

13 A large number of both Scottish and Irish folktales containing the *geasa* formulae are in print and there are many more in manuscript. References to only the more accessible versions are given in this article. Although a number of the versions collected in the nineteenth century are known only in English translation, the stories in question were probably never told in English.

14 In another Icelandic folktale, *Himinbjargar saga*, collected in the eighteenth century, the hero is sent by his dead mother on a quest to trolls. The leader of the trolls is a princess who, together with her eleven companions, has been enchanted by her stepmother. The hero frees her. See *Gráskinna in meiri*, edited by Sigurdur Nordal and Thorbergur Thórdarson (2 vols., Reykjavik 1962) vol. I pp. 26–36. It was summarised by Sveinsson (1929: 70).

15 The views of Kittredge (1903) on the background to the tales containing the werewolf theme were commented on by Nutt (Milne and Nutt 1904: 60–7), Henry Goddard Leach (*Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* [Cambridge, Mass. 1921] pp. 210–15), and Schlauch (1934: 82–3, 102). Bruford (1969: 158–9, 214) discusses the Gaelic versions of the werewolf's tale, which he considers one of a number of modern folktales that are possibly derived from lost literary tales. He notes that there are two œcotypes of the tale in Gaelic folklore. In the œcotype studied by Kittredge the man has been transformed into a wolf by his faithless wife, while in the other, to which all the Scottish versions belong, he is enchanted by his stepmother.

16 For example *The Fians*, edited by John Gregorson Campbell, Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, Argyllshire Series (London 1891) vol. IV pp. 260–79; see especially 260. This tale, a version of *Céatach*, contains a number of relevant motifs.

A very faint resemblance occurs in the opening to the English ballad *Little Sir Hugh*, Number 155, in Francis J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 vols., New York 1892–8) vol. III pp. 233–54.

17 The first has been taken from a Galway tale and the second from *The Royal Hibernian Tales* (*Béaloideas* X (1940): 154). Bruford (1969:196–7) gives examples of *geasa* taken from the medieval and later literature of Ireland and modern Gaelic folk tales. Folktale examples, in addition to those already referred to, include *Béaloideas* I (1928): 382; II (1930): 296–7; III (1933): 448–9; IV (1934): 321–2, further references p. 453; Jeremiah Curtin, *The Hero-Tales of Ireland* (London 1894) p. 96; John F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (4 vols., London 1960–2) vol. I pp. 1–3, 13–14; vol. II pp. 328–9, 341, 420, 431.

18 'That legg ek á thik, at thú skalt hvergi kyrr thola, hvorki nótt né dag, fyrr en thú sér Hervöru Hundingsdóttur, nema á skipum thínum ok í tjaldi.' The last phrase, which means 'except on your ships and in your tent (or awning)', refers to an episode which has been interpolated into the existing version

of the prose saga, in which Hjálmthér is given a magic tent. This episode comes between the attempted seduction by the stepmother and the *álög*. In Hjálmthésrímur the episode with the tent is absent and is not mentioned in the *álög* formula, which is given directly after the seduction scene.

Hjálmthér's counter-curse is 'Ekki skaltu fleira á mik leggja, thví at kjaftr thinn skal opinn standa, en that thykkir mér einskis vert at threyja eftir eina konungsdóttur. Hamrar hávir standa nidr vid skipalægit. Thar skaltu á stíga sínum fæti, en fjórir thrælar födur míns skulu kynda eld undir thér, en vid ekki skaltu lífa nema that, sem hrafnar færa thér, thar til ek kem aftr.'

19 'Vilda ek, Grímhildr, at ek launadi thér thín álög, og that mæli ek um, at ödrum fæti standir thú á skemmu thessari, en ödrum heima á konungshöll. Thrælar skulu thar kynda bál mitt í milli fóta thér. That bál skal standa bædi nætr ok daga, ok öll skaltu nedan af eldi brenna, en ofan frjósa, at aldri fáir thú thína ró. En ef vit mædgur komumst ór thessum álögum, thá skaltu deyja ok detta ofan í bálit.'

20 In Isidore's *Etymologies* the Cynocephali are a race who have dogs' heads and bark like dogs (Bk. 11 Ch. 3 Section 15). Dillon (1941) discusses the *conchend* in Irish literature. In Norse literature a number of kings have the name Hundingr without having any dog characteristics. In *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* however there is a king Hundólfr who rules Hundingjaland, where the people have chins grown down to their breasts and where they bark like dogs (pp. 19-20). Drawings of the Cynocephali are found in a twelfth-century Icelandic manuscript containing a translation of the *Physiologus*—see *The Icelandic Physiologus*, Facsimile edition, edited by Halldór Hermannsson, *Islandica* XXVII (Ithaca, New York 1938) pp. 13, 14, and unnumbered illustrations. Adam of Bremen, writing in the twelfth century, also mentions a northern land in which men who bark like dogs may be found—see Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, translated by Francis J. Tschan (New York 1959), pp. 200-06. This may have provided the source for *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*. Another medieval Icelandic saga, *Sigurdar saga thögla* (Loth: II) also refers to the Cynocephali—the Ceneofali—who bark like dogs and have dogs' heads, and dog-headed men are again referred to in the fourteenth-century compilation *Alfrædi Íslenzk*—for both references see Schlauch 1934: 44-5. A dog-king is mentioned in Book 7 of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus—see *Saxo Grammaticus: The History of the Danes*, translated by Peter Fisher, edited by Hilda Ellis Davidson and Peter Fisher (2 vols. Cambridge 1979), vol. I p. 220, vol. II pp. 116-17.

21 'Eftir thessari hendi, gulli og glófa skaltu leita ok threyja ok aldri nádir fá, fyrir en sá leggr jafnviljugr aftr í thinn lófa, sem nú tók á burtu' (Schröder 1917: 258).

22 Closely related to *Hálfdánar saga* but without the *álög* theme is *Vilmundar saga vidutan* (Loth: IV. 137-201). In this saga one of the two heroines, while living in the wilds, loses her shoe. Her foster-mother tells her that it is impossible for her to seek it herself for fear of the trolls: the heroine says that she will marry the man who finds it. The conversation is overheard by the hero, who has already found the shoe, so there is no quest. He finally discovers who the lady is and marries her (Loth: IV. 153). There is a possibility that the motif here is another version of the shoes-and-socks motif used in Gaelic tales such as *Loinnir Mac Leabhair*.

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Book Reviews

The Ring-Net Fishermen by Angus Martin. John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh 1981. xi + 263 pp + illustrations and photographs. £12.00.

This is a volume based on five years of intensive field-work among ring-net fishermen (chiefly in Loch Fyne) in the 1970s—taped, transcribed and lodged in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies, and now published as a substantive and reflective study. Yet this is not so straightforward as it appears, for Angus Martin has also a moral conviction to record. This comes out intermittently throughout the book, and strongly in the *Conclusion*: 'Western society . . . has brought itself to the edge of an ecological and moral crisis' (p. 243). It also appears, as a predicament, in the dedication: 'This book is dedicated, with love, to the non-human creatures of Earth, especially to those trees whose regrettable deaths have made possible its production.'

Angus Martin, then, is a passionate and involved field-worker—'perhaps too passionate' he tells us in the *Preface*. There is, certainly, a type of field-work (common enough in the Scottish experience) which turns out to be a rather breathless essay to catch the last words of the last possible informant. And so it is here. The opening words of the *Introduction* only add to the author's already complicated involvement when he records that 'the evolution of the Scottish ring-net . . . took 120 years to complete. Ironically, with the attainment of maximum development, a rapid decline began, which, within the past decade signifies the unmistakeable, and probably irreversible, end of that method of herring fishing.'

This being so, it is clear that before the decade was out, Angus Martin was determined to get everything down and to get it right. And if his book is packed with facts like herrings in a barrel, it is because it is not just a book about the ring-net fishing, but explicitly about the ring-net fishermen. Indeed—so copious is the oral information—it might be said to be *by* the ring-net fishermen. And therein lies the passion—and the predicament. For, having done the field-work, there came a 'current of unease', and a realisation 'that the final product of that wonderful flourishing of skill and knowledge has been the eradication not only of the communities of drift-net fishermen from Loch Fyne to Loch Ryan, and from the Butt of Lewis to Bara, but finally, of the ring-net fishermen themselves' (p. 243).

So, first, the drift-net fishermen—and *finally* the ring-net fishermen. The implication is that in Loch Fyne the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children, ever since the first, and fatal, beginnings of the Scottish ring-net—'the irregular use of the traditional drift-net in the 1830s', where several pieces of drift-net were brought together 'to create a crude beach-seine for surrounding the herring in shallow bays' (p. 136). This for the beginning. The tragic inevitability of the end

seems gradually to have overwhelmed Angus Martin as he pursued his field-work and his investigation into the evolution of the ring-net. The uneasy apprehension that such a simple historical origin could contain within itself the seeds of its own annihilation persists to the end throughout the book. Even the very habits of the herring seem to be doom-laden. An informant—David McFarlane of Tarbert—reflecting on the evolution of the ring-net, is quoted: 'In a year or so the herrin' got wary; it wisna comin' in just as low—it shows ye how it adapts itself.' ('Low in' is fisher terminology for the presence of herring in the shallow bays. The opposite is 'high off'.) So some sort of new method of capture (eventually the fully developed ring-net operating 'high off') had to be devised.

This historic development of the ring-net is set out clearly and systematically (p. 136). There were four stages: a shore-based operation with improvised drift-nets; a specifically designed net, still, however, hauled to the shore; an even better and deeper net, with no shore-contact, but still hauling into shallow water; and finally, the motor-boat, the mechanical winch, and operation in deep, off-shore, waters.

Angus Martin emphasises, several times, that *only* with the coming of motor power could the whole potential of the ring-net be realised. And (so it turns out) in this sort of *dénouement*, it is a very devil which appears out of the machine. For, finally, there was the 'irreversible' end of it all—the nemesis of an 'indiscriminately-destructive' method of mid-water trawling in the 1970s, only made possible by power, and yet more power, in the motor vessels. 'And so change succeeds change, efficiency begets greater efficiency, until progressive ideals, by their very fulfilment are all undone' (p. 238).

This pessimism darkens the book. However, between the *Historical Introduction* and the *New Age* (the chapters which chronicle efficiency and yet greater efficiency) lies the other half of the book, the oral history and the results of the field-work. This lightens the pessimism marvellously, and it can and should be read for its own worth, leaving aside the imponderable matters of impending judgement. So read, it is a unique record of that 'wonderful flourishing of skill and knowledge', or what Angus Martin also calls 'fishing lore . . . present substantially throughout this book'. It has all been taken from the lips of informants, a formidable list of them, including some of his own forbears—fishermen out of Dalintober—which was the calling he also followed on leaving school. There is, therefore, hardly a page without a quotation drawn from a transcription of living speech and experience. This is why the detail is so prodigious—factual, linguistic (both Kintyre Scots and Gaelic) and anecdotal. Nothing escapes the net. There is, of course, detailed technical discussion of the boats and the nets, but there is also something of peat-cutting and thatching, on how to choose the best wood for fashioning a netting-needle (p. 123), on how to repair a clay pipe with a little blood drawn from a pin-prick (p. 106), and on how to repair a broken lamp glass 'with a strip of newspaper moistened with condensed milk' (p. 107). And much more besides. It is all here.

Inevitably, the technical and nautical material presents a considerable problem for description. The techniques of net assembly and repair, for instance, which are given in some detail, are complicated and will not always be understood even by those who know a netting-needle when they see one. Only those seafarers who can use this simple and subtle instrument will be completely at home. However, it is all very carefully explained and it is here for the record. Above all, it is all very carefully glossed. Lexicographers and dialectologists, at all stages, will be grateful for this, and if their word-hoard covers only one coast of Scotland they will find material here for comprehension and comparison. Always remembering that the progenitor of the ring-net was the drift-net, they will find that 'deepen', 'back rope', 'sole rope' are here. So is 'flow' (a necessary slackness in the net). 'Ra' corresponds to east coast 'gairdin' or 'grofe' (the especially strong and thick twine at the edges). Gaelic *mogal-ghoid* ('stolen mesh') corresponds to Buckie or Cullen 'stowen mask', or Crail or St Monance 'stelt mask', and so on. Line-fishing is discussed in the chapter on *Seasonal Alternatives* and here the lexical correspondences are even closer for west and east.

As for the boats—the sailing Loch Fyne Skiffs at least—the description is equally careful and with much word-material. Even so, there are significant gaps and significant difficulties. And there is not really very much here to satisfy the student of Scottish craft who wishes to understand the evolution of the type. No doubt, this was not the especial business of the chapter *The Skiffs*, but Scotland is still awaiting a history of its fishing craft and all particular and local contributions might well be judged accordingly. (It was Peter Anson himself who, fifty years ago, noted that 'the history of the Scottish craft has yet to be written'). Angus Martin tells us, correctly, of the introduction of the Loch Fyne Skiff (double-ended and with a standing lug) in the 1880s, 'which replaced the open boats traditionally employed at trawling' (p. 76). But where did the skiff come from? And what were these open boats like? Were they even double-ended? Illustration No. 24 in the book shows nets being hauled to the shore, and 'moored inshore is a trawl-skiff'. This small vessel has a square stern and a dipping lug. Are we to understand that this is how it was? No source is given for the illustration. (The whole matter of illustration is confusing. The drawings by Will Maclean and the photographs are numbered serially without classification. There is no formal table of illustrations. And when, in the *Preface*, Nos. 21 and 22, for example, are credited to Will Maclean, they turn out to be photographs and by someone else.)

So we still do not know much about the antecedents of the Loch Fyne Skiff and nothing at all about the model of the open boats which preceded them. Angus Martin ackowledges the particular technical assistance 'for sailing and ballasting' of Robert Smith of the Museum of Country Life, Auchindrain. There was—six or seven years ago, at least—a very small skiff lying in the open air at the Museum, old and in bad condition, but due to be renovated. This appeared to be an important example, and perhaps it is to the Museum that the student will have to go to supplement the information in the book.

For, doubtless in his desire to be plain and not impossibly nautical, Angus Martin is sometimes less than plainly nautical. (He has occasionally a nice salty phrase, though. Without overdoing anything, 'at some time long adrift of human memory', for example, is delightfully tangy.) He is splendid on details like bending a sail to a yard with 'roobans' [*sc.* 'rae-bands, *i.e.* 'yard-bands'], or on lug-sheet arrangements (very nicely illustrated). But on something fundamental like the characteristic rake of the mast on a Loch Fyne Skiff he misses a point. Simply to say that if the boat was to be good to windward 'the sail required to come back towards the stern . . . by keeping the foot of the mast forward, but letting the head back', *without*, at the same time, saying something of the underwater form of the Loch Fyne Skiff, is not to say very much. Students of Scottish craft will wish it to be stated plainly that the skiff is very deep aft (see photograph No. 15) and with fine lines forward, and the rake is deliberately done to bring the centre of effort and the centre of resistance nearer to each other. Angus Martin is perfectly capable of this sort of description. And it helps, because it can be a significant denominator for the organisation of our thinking on the relationship of the skiff to other Scottish craft like the *Sgoth* of Lewis, or the *Zulu* of the Moray Firth, for example.

But this is no more than asking for that history of Scottish fishing craft. Angus Martin's immediate and particular question remains: what of the fishing lore in Loch Fyne? The answer he gives is that it has gone, and the dramatic opposition between lore and non-lore is very sternly and categorically presented.

> Deep knowledge and appreciation of fishing lore continued unbroken to the generation of fishermen born in the final decade of last century, and the first of the present century . . . thereafter silence. Folklorists researching all traditional industries are familiar with the prime cause of that break: industrial mechanisation . . . . Sailing and rowing, manual hauling of nets, line-fishing and drift-netting and natural lore have become incomprehensible, and even ridiculous, to a generation which understands (but imperfectly) only the mechanics of engines, winches, and electronic equipment (p. 109).

This is to make very heavy weather of it. Fishermen, when faced with this sort of weather, have a familiar word to describe the correct seamanlike procedure. It is 'dodging'. And Angus should dodge a bit too, for nothing, probably, is quite so categorical as he thinks. Indeed, he himself shows, from the first 'irregular' use of the drift-net, that the evolution of the ring-net has been from one 'mechanical' advantage to another, and 'the transition from drift-netting to trawling forced the fishermen to acquire a new range of skills and knowledge' (p. 140). Just so—and 'new range of skills and knowledge' can hardly be much different from (new) 'lore'. So, hauling a seine to the shore gave way to ringing in deep water. The collecting of the herring from the 'ring' by basket, gave way to a 'brailer' with a tackle and derrick. Even in the new motor-boats, steering by wheel rather than by tiller, eventually meant 'a better ring . . . as we can make any curve accurate all round' (p. 212). And when it comes to something 'only marginally associated with [such] practicalities'

(but still defined as 'fishing lore'), namely, *humour*, it would be strange if the much-criticised modern fishermen could not do better than the two or three not very good stories which are presented (p. 110), especially that forlorn old gag about the sun and moon going wrong, 'but my watch never'. Angus Martin's apology is that 'the best of them can only be told [*sc.* orally] and these have been excluded'. That is a pity.

Then there is the complicated lore of a net assembly, so traditionally fixed in the men's minds that even the accompanying beer and whisky had no obvious effect. 'Some o' them' said Hugh McFarlane 'wir *smok'd* (drunk), but damn the bit o't—they winna go an inch wrong.' Now, there was a conservative Tarbert method, and there was also a newer Ayrshire method introduced by certain fishing families, notably from The Maidens. 'The great success of the families which practised it testifies to its efficiency, but there can be little doubt that the meticulous and tradition-conscious older generation of Tarbert fishermen would have disapproved of it' (p. 121).

But is it really a question of approval or disapproval? At what point does new skill and knowledge and efficiency cease to be 'lore'? In short, what is to *count* as 'fishing lore'? It is here that Angus Martin dodges without seeming to notice. He takes, for example, a great innovator in the history of ring-netting, Robert Robertson, and singles him out for great attention in the chapter *The New Age*. It was Robertson who, in 1907, was skipper of the *Brothers*, a Campbeltown skiff with a paraffin engine—the first fishing vessel on the West Coast of Scotland to receive motor power. In 1922 he had two motor craft built, the *Falcon* and the *Frigate Bird*, to work as a ring-netting pair. Immediately, he was obliged to record: 'Like all things new, these boats were looked upon as money lost.' Nevertheless, they were an eventual success and they changed the history of ring-netting. Robert Robertson died in 1940: 'He was pre-eminent among ring-net fishermen, and if tradition proves just, will be so remembered.'

So Angus Martin's predicament remains. He finds himself sympathetic to Robert Robertson, he accords to him an honoured place in the tradition, yet he is caught between conservative regret for lost 'lore' and seamanlike admiration for a fellow fisherman. It is the inevitability of the predicament that we have to notice. As Robertson himself is quoted as saying (p.211): 'If it's got tae be, that's it—it's got tae be.'

Where, then, does all this leave us? Not, perhaps—for all the inevitability—permanently in the predicament where it seems to have left Angus Martin. Field-work may begin with passion and end with pessimism. It is certain that it will also be maddeningly paradoxical throughout. It never really gets you anywhere (it has obviously depressed Angus Martin) because the real predicament is that it is always the *next* retrieval of information, the *next* questionnaire which is the important one, that is, the 'lore' you didn't ask about, or didn't even know existed, or didn't trouble to define, and wouldn't know about anyway until you had recollected your present retrieval in something like tranquillity.

Just seventy years ago, the French dialectologist Jules Gilliéron wrote his celebrated paradox, which might be directed at all field-workers: 'Le questionnaire . . . pour être sensiblement meilleur, aurait dû être fait après l'enquête.' So, having read and enjoyed Angus Martin's splendid book, what we now have to do is to settle down, in such good spirits as may be granted to us, to consider *le questionnaire* . . . .

J. Y. MATHER

Books Received

Some of these books may be reviewed later in *Scottish Studies*

A Folklore Sampler from the Maritimes, with a Bibliographical Essay on the Folktale in English, edited by Herbert Hulpert. Memorial Univerisity of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publications, St. John's 1982. 273 pp. [N.P.]

Scottish Gaelic Studies, edited by Donald MacAulay, Vol. XIV Part 1. University of Aberdeen, 1983. 142 pp. £7.

Études Celtiques XXI, fondees par J. Vendryes. Éditions du Centre National de la Récherche Scientifique, Paris 1984. 386 pp. [N.P.]

Isles of Home: Sixty Years of Shetland by Gordon Donaldson. Paul Harris, Edinburgh 1984. 188 pp. + 60 black & white photographs. £8.95.

Highland Songs of the Forty-Five, edited by John Lorne Campbell. Scottish Academic Press, for The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh 1984. 347 pp. £9.95. Revised edn. [First published 1933.]

Architects and Architecture on Tayside by Bruce Walker. Dundee Institute of Architects 1984. 206 pp. including 179 photographs and drawings. £15.

Population Change in Contemporary Scotland, edited by H. Jones. Royal Scottish Geographical Society Series. Geo Books, Norwich 1984. 83 pp. including 25 figures and 13 tables. [N.P.]

'That Important and Necessary Article': The Salt Industry and its Trade in Fife and Tayside c. 1570–1850 by C. A. Whatley. Abertay Historical Society Publication No. 22, Dundee 1984. 68 pp. £2.50.

'To My Pocket': A Personal Cash Book of an 18th Century Scottish Laird, edited by S. F. Macdonald Lockhart. The Pentland Press, Edinburgh 1984. 112 pp. £12.

Scottish Tradition. A Collection of Scottish Folk Literature edited by David Buchan. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley 1984. 265 pp. £11.95.

Mons Meg: A Royal Cannon by Peter Lead. Mennock Publishing, Holmes Chapel, Cheshire 1984. 48 pp., most pages illustrated. [N.P.]

Bealoideas Vol. 53. Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society, Dublin 1985. 354 pp. £10 (annual subscription rate).

Focus on Fishing. Arbroath and Gourdon by Edna R. Hay and Bruce Waker. Abertay Historical Society no. 23, Dundee 1985. 96 pp. including 12 photographs and drawings. £4.

The Letters of Robert Burns Vol. I 1780–1789, Vol II 1790–1796, edited by J. De Lancey Ferguson. Second edition by G. Ross Roy. Oxford University Press 1985. 494 pp. and 521 pp. £45 each. [1st edn. 1931].

Traditional Dancing in Scotland by J. P. Flett & J. M. Flett; with an Appendix by Frank Rhodes on 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island'. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley 1985. 313 pp. paperback £4.95. [First published 1964].

John Galt by P. H. Scott. Scottish Writers Series, editor David Daiches. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1985. 130 pp. £4.50.

Lewis Grassic Gibbon by Ian Campbell. Scottish Writers Series [as above].

Alexander Montgomerie by R. D. S. Jack. Scottish Writers Series [as above, but 140 pp.]

Ardler—A Village History. The Planned Railway Village of Washington by Christopher H. Dingwall. Abertay Historical Society No. 24. Dundee 1985. 64 pp. + 8 plates. £2.25.

Poems by Allan Ramsay & Robert Fergusson, edited by Alexander Manson Kinghorn and Alexander Law. The Scottish Classics Series No. 1, general editor Douglas S. Mack. Scot-

tish Academic Press in conjunction with The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Edinburgh 1985. 225 pp. [N.P.]

The Member: An Autobiography by John Galt, edited by Ian A. Gordon. The Scottish Classics Series No. 2, general editor Douglas S. Mack. Scottish Academic Press in conjunction with The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Edinburgh 1985. 128 pp. [N.P.; paperback; first published 1975.]

John Galt: Ringan Gilhaize or The Covenanters, edited by Patricia J. Wilson. The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, general editor Douglas Mack. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1985. 370 pp. £8.50.

Selected Short Stories of the Supernatural by Margaret Oliphant, edited by Margaret K. Gray. The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, general editor Douglas S. Mack. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1985. 256 pp. £8.50.

Perspectives of the Scottish City, edited by George Gordon. Aberdeen University Press, 1985. 224 pp. £17.50.

Commonplace and Creativity: The Role of Formulaic Diction in Anglo-Scottish Traditional Balladry by Flemming G. Andersen. Odense University Press, 1985. 404 pp. Dan. kr. 250.

The Jacobites by Frank McLynn. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley 1985. 228 pp. £15.95.

Memoire of Frances Lady Douglas, by Lady Louisa Stuart, edited and introduced by Jill Rubenstein, with a Preface by J. Steven Watson. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh & London 1985. 106 pp. £9.50. ['Offers a superb view of late 18th and early 19th century aristocratic society'.]

Highland Communities in Dundee and Perth 1787–1891: A Study in the Social History of Migrant Highlanders by Charles W. J. Withers. Abertay Historical Society No. 25, Dundee 1986. 75 pp. £4.75.

The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition by John Bannerman. John Donald. Edinburgh 1986. 161 pp. £20.

The Crisis of the Democratic Intellect. The Problem of Generalism and Specialisation in Twentieth-Century Scotland by George Davie. Polygon, Edinburgh 1986. 283 pp. £17.95.

Scottish Church History by Gordon Donaldson. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1986. 245 pp. + 26 black & white plates [N.P.]

Wade in Atholl by John Kerr. Reprinted from *The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* vol. VIII. Atholl Arms Hotel, Blair Atholl 1986. 59 pp. including 4 photographs.

Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair: The Ardnamurchan Years by Ronald Black. The Society of West Highland & Island Historical Research, 1986. 44 pp.

The Road to Revolution: Scotland Under Charles I, 1625–37 by Maurice Lee, Jr. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1986, distributed by Harper & Row, London. 259 pp. £19.75.

Narrative of a Residence in South Africa vol. I by Thomas Pringle, to which is prefixed *A Biographical Sketch of the Author* by Josiah Conder. Empire Books. Brentwood, Essex 1986. 168 pp. £14.50. [First published 1834]

Biography of Irish Linguistics and Literature 1942–71 by Rolph Baumgarten, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1986. xxiii + 776 pp. £35.

The Banshee: The Irish Supernatural Death Mesenger by Patricia Lysaght. Glendale Press, Dublin 1986.

Folksongs & Folklore of South Uist by Margaret Fay Shaw. Third Edition. Aberdeen University Press, 1986. 306 pp. + 32 illustrations. [N.P.; 1st edn. 1955]

Scottish Local Studies Resources: A Directory of Publications from Scottish Public Libraries, edited by Brian Osborne. Scottish Library Association, Motherwell 1986. 56 pp. £2.50.

Errata (Volume 27)

Please note that certain phrases in which errors were found to have occurred, in Volume 27, should be corrected to read as follows:

Page 1, line 2: '. . . *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500* (Thomas 1981).'

Page 1, lines 17–18: '. . . the archaeologist's stock-in-trade.'

Page 10, lines 1–2: 'PROUDFOOT EDWINA
1983'

Page 10, penultimate line: '*RRS* I, no. 184

Page 12, lines 1–2: 'Midlothian,
Penicuik'

Page 14, line 20: 'HARLEY CHRS
Harley Charters in the British Library.'

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